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Foreword

The eleventh volume of the present series contains two studies.

The first part is devoted to an onomastic list engraved on J. ʿAmûd al-ʿAyraf, a rocky outcrop south of the famous lists on J. Balaq Janûb. Recently republished for the first time on the basis of the originals themselves as Ja 2848 a-aw and 2949 a-b (cf. JaOMYE, pp. 35-58, and pl. 5-14) and c-f (cf. JaMAR, X, pp. 2-20, and pl. 1-4), these lists are composed of names belonging to a total of 19 generations. As 6 intermediary generations are not represented, the whole collection spans 25 generations (cf. l.c., pl. 2-4), thus about five hundred years. The historical and lexicographical synchronisms of the present collection with Ja 2848 l, n, RÉS 4411 and 4438 make it possible to add a valuable information to our knowledge of 6 generations among the oldest of those attested in Ja 2848 a-aw. The present collection also yields precious details on both cult and administration.

The last few years have seen several publications dealing with ancient Sumhurâm, the last one being JaMAR, IX, pp. 81-104, and pl. 7 and h-l. The site and the 1952 excavations were summarily presented by their archaeologist, Dr.P. F. Albright in 1953 (cf. "The Himyaritic Temple at Khor Rory (Dhofar, Oman)," in Orientalia, 22, pp. 284-287 and pl. 71 and 72). The recent renewal of interest in Sumhuram prompted Dr. F.P. Albright to at long last give in detail the description and plans of the two most important structures known so far of ancient Sumhurâm, viz. the gate and the temple. I personally wish to congratulate Dr.F. P. Albright for his effort to find time in his still busy life to give South-Arabian science the second installment of his field work at Sumhurâm and also to thank him for allowing the publication of his new contribution as the second section of the present volume.

Sabaean texts
of
J. ᶜAmûd al-ᶜAyraf, Yemen

The rocky complex of J. ᶜAmûd al-ᶜAyraf is located about one hour by truck southwest of Bâb al-Falaj, southwest of Mârib. With the exception of the isolated stone 2904, the 146 entries of the present collection are engraved on three different levels of the mountain itself:

2905-2940 on narrow, almost vertical panels which are aslant to the right, contiguous to each other and immediately above ground level; the texts were copied from left (southeast) to right (northwest);

2941-2951 on a panel immediately above the preceding group and much less shredded than the other panels; the inscriptions were copied from right to left; the location of 2941 is given in relation with 2927 a, the highest text of the lower row and the nearest to 2941;

2952 on a naturally smooth, bulging side of the mountain and much higher up.

A - Illustrations

All the texts are represented on pl. 2-7, and were traced from color photographs except for the following cases:

2914, 2921 d, 2923, 2937-2940, 2946-2947 and 2952 were drawn on the basis of the color photographs where the inscriptions are too small to be clearly blown up for tracing purposes;

the lower left corner of 2935, more than the right half of 2942, 2948—2950 were drawn from my notebook.

The texts were reproduced by groups inasmuch as the distance sepa-

rating them was short enough to allow taking good photographs. Sometimes, however, even when the distance separating the texts is very short, the difference in level is too great to make the accurate tracing of all the inscriptions possible. Such is the case of the following texts:

the group 2911 a-d on pl. 3:

above 2911 a, 2915 b/2;

to the right of 2915 b/2, the end of 2918 c/2 and,below it, the end of 2918 d;

to the right of 2911 a/2-3, the end of 2918 e/3 and,below it, the end of 2918 f/1-4;

the group 2915-2922 on pl. 4:

below 2915 b, the beginning of 2911 a/1;

the group 2925-2926 on pl. 5:

to the right of 2926 a/1-2, the end of 2927 b/2;

to the right of the wasm of 2926 b, the end of 2927 b/3-4;

to the right of 2926 b/2, the end of 2927 c;

to the right of 2926 c/2, the end of 2927 d;

to the right of 2926 c/3, the end of 2927 e and, below it, the beginning of 2927 f;

to the right of 2926 d/1-2, the end of 2927 g;

the group 2927-2931 on pl. 6:

to the left of 2927 b/2-4, the right extremity of 2926 a/2-3 and of 2926 b/wasm and 1;

to the left of 2927 c, the beginning of 2926 b/2-3;

to the left of 2927 d and e, the beginning of 2926 c/2-3;

to the left of 2927 f, g and h/1, thebeginning of 2926 d/1-3;

to the left of 2947/3 on pl. 7, the beginning of 2948 a/1.

B - Onomastics

The following schema lists 35 nominal formations attested in the onomastics of the 139 complete names found in the present collection. For a short presentation of the new onomastical system followed below, cf. JaMAR, IX, p. 2.

qtl: A1: bʾṯ, ḇyn, gd, hqb, wʿd, wtr, ḥdm, ḥn, ḥnbl, ḥnn, ḥrt, hll, ytʿ, kbḥ, kr, lḥy, msʾ, mtn, sbʿ, sl, ʿmm, ḏfr, rbb, rfd, rfy.

ʾqtl: B1a: ʾbhl.

hqtl: B1d: hwbs.

yqtl: B1e: ylb.

mqtl: B1g: myfʿ.

sqtl: B1i: swtn.

qwtl: C3: dwʾl.

qtlm: D3f: bqrm, gddm, wkbm, wklm, ḫywm, yfʿm, ytʿm, nzzm, ʿzzm, ʿlkm, ʿmrm, ġddm, ṣbḥm, qwmm, rbḥm, rkwm, šyṯm, śwrm, tʾrm.

qtln: D3g: grbn, dwmn, ḥqqn, hlfn, ṯfln, ysrn, lmmn, mrwn, nḥsn, ʿkdn, ʿtkln, ġrn, ršwn, tʾrn.

qtlt: D3i: fht.

ʾqtln: E1i: ʾlḥyn.

yhqtl: E41a: yhqm.

yqtlbdr: E45i: ydmrmlk.

mhqtlm: E56b: mhqmm.

mqtlm: E66n: myfʿm, mṣnʿm.

qytlm: E84h: ḫymwm.

qtylw: E88d: lḥyww.

qtlhm: E91c: gmhm.

qtlhmw: E91d: ʾmrhmw, dmrhmw, ʿlhmw, rbbhmw.

qtlbdr: E102a: ddkrb, dmrʾmr, dmrydʿ, dmrkrb, hlkʾmr, hlkyfʿ, hlksmʿ, hlhʿly, hlkqʿ, ḫbṣmʿ, ḫmrwḥ, hlkrb, ytʿʾmr, ytʿkrb, mlkʾmr, mlksmʿ, mlkšhr, mʿdkrb, nbṯyfʿ, nbṯkrb, nbṯsmʿ, nšʾkrb, smhkb, smkrb, ʿrʾmr, tbʿkrb.

qtltm: E110f: qyntm.

qtltn: E110g: fḫmtn.

qttlt (reduplication): E116h: mllʾt.

qtlʾl: F1c: ytʿʾl, krbʾl, nbṯʾl, rtdʾl.

qtlʿtt: F1aj: ḫmʿtt.

ʾbqtl: F4a: ʾbʾmr, ʾbkrb, ʾbsmʿ, ʾbʿly.

ʾlqtl: F4c: ʾlʾmr, ʾlḥmr.

ʿmqtl: F4aa: ʿmʾmr, ʿmʾns, ʿmdhr, ʿmwtr, ʿmytʿ, ʿmkrb, ʿmʿhr, ʿmʿly, ʿmšfq.

ʿmqytl: F17k: ʿmkyrb.

ᶜmqtyl: F19m: ᶜmᵓmyr.

b+divine name: F32m: bᶜttr.

hqtlᵓl: F36b: hytᶜᵓl.

yqtlᵓl: F38a: ymlḥᵓl, yqdmᵓl, yqḥᵓl.

qtlhbdr: F64a: smhᵓmr, smhyfᶜ, smhkrb, smhᶜly, smhrym.

Here follows the list of the formations according to the number of the names illustrating them:

1 name: ᵓqtl, hqtl, yqtl, mqtl, sqtl, qwtl, qtlt, ᵓqtln, yhqtl, yqtlbdr, mhqtlm, qytlm, qtylw, qtlhm, qtltm, qtltn, qtlᶜtt, qttlt (reduplication), b+ divine name, hqtlᵓl, ᶜmqytl, ᶜmqtyl.

2 names: mqtlm, ᵓlqtl.

3 names: yqtlᵓl.

4 names: qtlhmw, qtlᵓl, ᵓbqtl.

5 names: qtlhbdr.

9 names: ᶜmqtl.

14 names: qtln.

19 names: qtlm.

25 names: qtl. 26 names: qtlbdr.

The most popular formation is thus qtlbdr which is immediately followed by the ordinary verbal form qtl with 26 and 25 names, respectively. Then come the two derivations qtlm and qtln with 19 and 14 names, respectively. The great popularity in which the formation qtlbdr was held during the historical period of the present collection is emphasized by the fact that the personal names of the qtl formation were borne by a single individual each with the exception of the dynastic second name byn by two persons, but the personal names of the other derivations were much more popular. Although 12 names of the qtlbdr formation were borne by one person each, 9 others were used by two persons each , ddkrb by three individuals, mᶜdkrb by five persons, hlkᵓmr by six individuals each and, finally, tbᶜkrb possibly by seven. However, some theophoric names of the (h)qtlᵓl derivation were equally common; e.g., hytᶜᵓl was used by five persons, and nbṭᵓl by six. But, the most popular names were those of the ᶜmqtl derivation; e.g., ᶜmᵓmr and ᶜmkrb were borne by ten persons each, and ᶜmytᶜ was the name of seventeen different individuals. The theophoric names composed of ᵓb, ᵓl, ᶜm and ᶜtt(r) were used by eighty-seven or eighty-eight persons.

The mention of ʿm among the four words entering into the composition of the theophoric names must be discussed here because of the following reasons. W.W. Müller stated in 1972 that ʿmsmʿ of Sab DJE 17/1 means "'Der Oheim has erhört'" because "ʿAmm ist hier nicht der Name des qatabānischen Mondgottes, sondern ein altes, nur in eigennamen vorkommendes Synonym für Il" (1). My review of that publication (2) did not mention the preceding question; a short review can hardly deal with all the remarks which the reader may have to make, and I really did not take W.W. Müller's remark very seriously, thinking that it was another extravaganza of the author. Very recently, however, A.G. Lundin published a short paper entitled "Element ʿm in South-Arabian names: divine name or word of relationship?" (3). It has thus become necessary to discuss the matter here.

W.W. Müller's theory. - It would be very easy to simply reject his statements because, as it often is the case in his publications, the author makes no attempt to justify his affirmations.

The first statement. - It is very difficult to refute such a statement because nobody, except the author himself, I hope, knows the reason behind it, and a guessing could easily miss the mark. The reason behind the author's statement could very plausibly be the fact that the text involved in plain Sab. If such is the case, the author seems either to be unaware or to disregard an important onomastical fact: many Sab theophoric names of the first historical period are composed with ʿm, which is a manifest influence from Qatabân upon Sabaʾ; the same remark naturally applies to the present collection of texts. After that first historical period, the number of those names gradually dwindles away, but they never disappeared completely.

The second statement is erroneous: ʿm is definitely not a synonym of ʾl. What the author had in mind, in my opinion, is that, according to him, ʿm represents an attribute of ʾl and, therefore, when used in a name, it refers to ʾl as characterized by that attribute.

A.G. Lundin's theory. - Even at first sight, the author's theory appears superficial and inaccurate.

a - In his introduction to the question of ʿm (p. 123), the author unfortunately gives an unequivocal example of how most of the studies on SA are conducted. He characterizes G.L. Harding's index as a complete gazetteer of names

with certain merits and demerits with reference to three reviews listed in note 2 (p. 127), viz. his own and those by J.B. Gruntfest and J. Ryckmans (4). The author, therefore, sweeps under the rug the mention not only of all other reviews, but also of the longest and most detailed of them all in 1971 (5) - thus published eight years before the printing of his own paper - the 58 pages of which clearly indicate that G.L. Harding's book not only is a waste of money and paper, but also will induce the reader into all kinds of errors. Furthermore, the following lines show that A.G. Lundin was, and still is, in no position to actually evaluate the book itself.

b - A.G. Lundin's total dependency from G.L. Harding's book is evident; he refers to it in 15 out of the 20 notes of his short paper. Such a dependency indicates that he did not conduct his research on the basis of his own files. One example suffices here. His list of elements entering into the composition of the nominal derivations utilized in his study, viz. ʾb, ʾh, ʾl, dd, hl and ʿm, is exemplified by the formations including the root krb (p. 126); then, it is enlarged by the addition of mlk of mlkkrb. But it does not include bʿl of bʿlkrb because G.L. Harding does not mention it on p. 497 under krb, although he lists it on p. 111. Furthermore, the author fails to mention ykrbmlk (although given on p. 124 in another context); yet, G.L. Harding lists the name on p. 497 under krb. Finally, he also fails to mention the element rb(b) of rbkrb, although G. L. Harding lists the name on the same p. 497. Yet, no justification is given by the author.

c - A.G. Lundin, then, refers to another study of a particular onomastical question (p. 127, note 3), viz. J. Ryckmans' paper of 1975 (6), which, according to him, yielded extremely important results (p. 123). The "extremely important" consideration to be made is, here again, the lack of scientific objectivity. Indeed, the author dumps into oblivion my long and detailed rebuttal of J. Ryckmans' erroneous theory, which is more than seven times longer than the original paper and was published in 1976 (7), thus three years before A.G. Lundin's printed text. It is much easier, but hardly scientific, to voluntarily sweep under the rug a confutation than to answer it.

d - A.G. Lundin does not even refer to W.W. Müller's opinion, from which he practically got the idea of his own paper. He, however, refers to NESE, I, "pp. 107-109" (which should be corrected to "p. 107"), where W.W. Müller derives the family name smyʿm of DJE 17/3 from the root smʿ. This etymology has nothing what-

ever to do with the interpretation of ʿm in theophoric names unless an author is of the oversimplistic opinion according to which the two letters ʿm at the end or at the beginning of a name belong to the divine name ʿm.

e - A.G. Lundin's solution to his problem is summarized on p. 127 as follows:

regardless not only of the reciprocal influence which the ancient populations may have had among themselves, but also of the actual origin of each inscription, ʿm is a divine name or a term of relationship depending on whether it is affixed or prefixed to the verbal element of the name.

1 - Interrelations between the various populations of Southern Arabia did actually exist and cannot be simply ignored unless many data provided by the nominal derivations, which embody those reciprocal influences, be misunderstood and misinterpreted. A few examples suffice here.

For Qat influence on Sabaʾ, cf. above, p. 6.

For Sab influence on Qatabân and Ḥaḍramawt, cf. a few examples in JaMAR, IX, p. 79.

For Min influence on Sabaʾ and Qatabân, cf., e.g., the formula wdʾb(m),wd(d)ʾl and wdm.

For Min influence on Ḥaḍramawt, cf., e.g., wdʾb, wd(d)ʾl and wdm.

2 - Whether affix or prefix, the element ʿm has the same value and meaning, e.g., as ʾb and ʾl which mean "father" and "god," respectively, when they introduce or follow the verbal element of a theophoric name; e.g., ʾbʾmr and ʾmrʾb; ʾlkrb and krbʾl.

3 - It should be strongly emphasized that the inscriptions alone are the only authorized and reliable source of information for providing the words which may be retained in theophoric names as designating the deity, viz.

(a) Several divine names known as such by the texts, such as wd and ʿttr (or one of its six apocopate forms ʿ, ʿśt, ʿt, ʿtr, ʿṯ, and ʿṯṯ), are found in the composition of theophoric names;

(b) ʾl means "god" or is the name of ʾIl himself;

(c) h "his [= the deity]" is attested in names, such, e.g., as smhʿly;

(d) The Qat and Sab populations are known as wld/ʿm and wld/ʾlmqh, respectively (8); their main respective deity is considered as the "father" of those people, as explicitely illustrated by the well-known formula ʾbwd = wdʾb.

Other words, such as b^{c}l, dd, hl and mlk, are never mentioned in the inscriptions to characterize or describe the relation between the deity and mankind; they should be handled as all other components, such as $^{\flat}$(w)s, $^{\flat}$ns, and $^{\flat}$mr.

C - Pedigrees

The task of reconstructing the pedigrees attested in the present collection is based on well-known facts which are amply corroborated here:

a - the name of an ordinary individual is unifold; any second name normally is a family, clan or tribe name (9);

b - a clan or tribe name may be introduced by bn or d depending on the natural relationship of the individual and the social group;

c - the spatial exiguity of the collection and its overall palaeographical unity seem to favor the reconstruction of several pedigrees, viz. those of the members of the same family, clan , or group and of the same profession.

The probability of some identifications is all the greater and amounts to certainty when the texts are engraved next to each other; e.g., the two boustrophedon 2926 b and c, although not mentioning any family/clan name, may be represented by the following diagram:

hlksm^{c}
|
hlkyf^{c} 2926 b
|
nbt$^{\flat}$l 2926 c

But, 2927 a, on a panel immediately to the right of the two preceding texts, reminds us of the great difficulty of utilizing all information, because hlkyf^{c} presents himself as the son of $^{\flat}$bhl, not of hlksm^{c}. The preceding difficulty becomes more and more acute with the number of texts mentioning the same name; e.g. ^{c}myt^{c} is used by seventeen persons, ^{c}mkrb by nine, and nbt$^{\flat}$l by six.

For the pedigree of the mukarrib krb$^{\flat}$l, cf. below, "Dating."

The family gddm:

yqdm$^{\flat}$l

2926 a ^{c}mdhr — ^{c}msfq 2943 b.

The two texts are boustrophedon.

The clan grbn, cf. below, "Dating."

The clan wkbm:

rbbhmw
|
rbhm 2933 a
|
^{c}mkrb 2912 a = 2933 b

2912 a is boustrophedon, but its duplicate, 2933 b, is not.

mlkʾmr
ʿmʿhr 2922 b
nbṭʾl 2922 e
hlkʾmr 2942 d

The three texts are boustrophedon.

ʿmm
ḥywm 2922 o
ʿmʿly 2948 b

The two texts are boustrophedon.

The clan hll, cf. below, "Dating."

The clan hlfn:

nbṭʾl
2920 d — mʿdkrb — smhyfʿ 2921 a, which is a boustrophedon.
2911 a — smhkrb 2921 e

yṯʿkrb
2926 d — ʾbʾmr — 2915 a ʿmʾmr
2920 b — ddkrb — all texts are boustrophedon.

The clan ṭfln:

dmrydʿ
2907 a — hlkʾmr — ʿmyṯʿ 2914

2907 a is boustrophedon.

The clan ysrn:

ʿmʾmr
ʾbkrb 2935 a
ʿmkyrb 2949, which is boustrophedon.

The clan msnʿm:

myfʿm
2922 i — hyṯʿʾl — ʿmyṯʿ 2922 h
2917 b — nbṭʾl — yṯʿkrb 2922 k

all texts are boustrophedon.

The clan swtn:

smhkrb
2906 a — ʿmkrb
ʿmyṯʿ 2925 c, which is boustrophedon.
mʿdkrb 2906 d

The clan ġrn:

dmrkrb
ydmr(/)mlk 2931
2932 ddkrb — smhyfʿ 2918 c — hlkrb 2911 b = 2927 e
2927 g — dmrkrb — smhʾmr 2911 c
2929 b — nšʾkrb — ʿmyṯʿ 2919 a

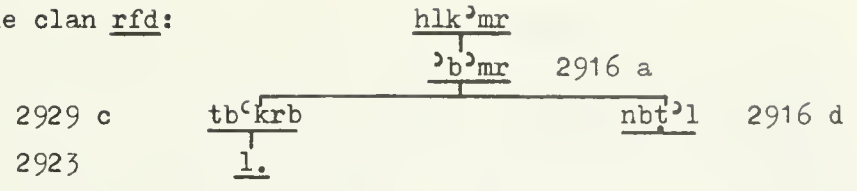
2919a and 2932 are boustrophedon.

The clan rkwm:

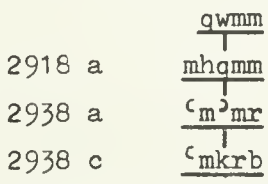
mhqmm
tbʿkrb 2921 c
ʿmyṯʿ 2938 b
bʿttr 2905 a
ʿmʾns 2905 c

2905 a and 2921 c are boustrophedon; for tbʿkrb, cf. below, "Administration."

The clan rfd:



2916 d and 2929 c are boustrophedon; 2917 e does not belong here because ʾbʾmr is the son of fḥmtn.



2938 a and c are boustrophedon.

For the pedigree of the individuals bearing the title kbr/ḥms/ḥgrm, cf. below, "Administration."

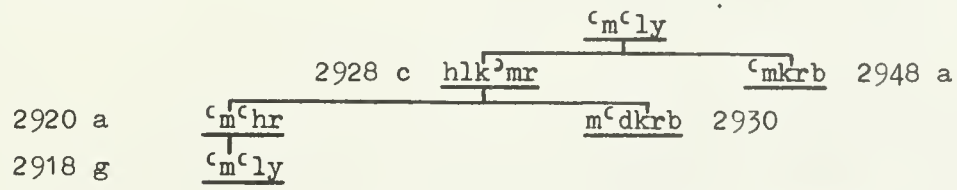
D - Administration

Two expressions, apparently related to each other, are found in the texts, viz. kbr/ḥms/ḥgrm "leader of five towns" in 2918 g, 2920 a, 2928 c and 2930; and

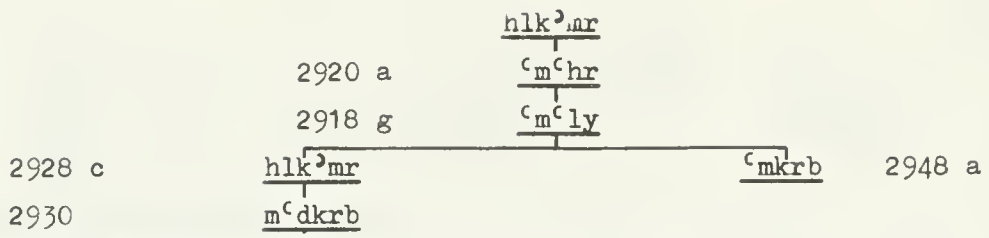
dḥms/ḥgrm "he of five towns" in 2945 and 2948 a.

First of all, it is most interesting to see the administrative function of kbr "leader" related to ḥgr "town" instead of šʿb "tribe," but this new information is most cryptic since there is no way of knowing why it is five towns in each case, which depend on one kbr. Furthermore, the expression dḥms/ḥgrm seems to be related to kbr/ḥms/ḥgrm in such a way that the man involved in each instance might be a member of the administration of the kbr/ḥms/ḥgrm.

The inscriptions containing the first expression yield the following pedigree, to which is added 2948 a with the second expression:



2920 a, 2928 c, 2930 and 2948 a are boustrophedon. The preceding pedigree involves two ʿmʿly's. However, another pedigree with two hlkʾmr's instead of two ʿmʿly's is to be preferred on the basis of the respective location of the texts; thus, five generations instead of four:



Furthermore, tbʿkrb/bn/mhqmm of 2945 has a Rakwumite homonym in 2921 c.

E - Cult

- - - - -

The information given by RÉS 4635 = Ja 538, viz. nql/lmbny/mʾlmt/smhʿly, is studied by JaCMYE (pp. 151-154), who transltates the pericope as follows: "he secured the transport for the building of the sorrow-stelas of Sumhuʿalay" (p. 153). The text indirectly refers to the building of stelas commemorating some cultual activities the nature of which remains unknown except for the fact that they symbolized the mukarrib's grieving.

The most important feature of the entire collection, from both a religious and lexicographical point of view, is two series of pericopes relating to some other parts of the same building of sorrow-stelas. The parallel with RÉS 4635 is all the more appropriate in that this text mentions the name of the mukarrib smhʿly (as in 2928 a), the verb nql (as in 2918 e, f; 2925b; and 2952), but also the word mʾlmt which corresponds to ʾlm (in 2918 e, f; 2925 b; 2927 b and 2952).

The series of pericopes are listed below on the basis of the verb involved in each case:

2918 e: nql (3)ẓf/ʾlm/ytʿʾmr/byn
2925 b: nql/ẓf/ʾl(4)m/ytʿʾmr
2918 f: nql/ẓf(3)y/ʾlm/krbʾl/w(4)tr
2952/2: nql/ẓfy/ʾlm/krbʾl/byn

2928 a: ślʿ/ẓfy/sm(3)hʿly
2927 b: ślʿ (3)ẓfy/ʾlm/smhry(4)m
2931/3 and 2949/4: ślʿ/ẓftm
2937/3: ślʿ/ṣftm
2920 b/3: ślʿ

All the texts, with the exception of 2918 e and 2931/3, are boustrophedon, as RÉS 4635.

1 - nql. - The translation of the verb as "to transport" (+ direct

complement), "to secure the transport" (without any direct complement) can safely be maintained here because it fits very well in the collection next to śl^{c}.

2 - ẓf = ṣf in 2937/3, as the well-known parallel ṣlm = ẓlm (e.g., Ja 688/3) "statue" (10). Cf. Ar ṣaffat "stone slab, bench." Mentioned in connection with ʾlm "sorrow-stela," the word ẓf = ṣf, used either in the singular (2 texts) or the dual (3 texts), most probably refers to the stone itself or the two stones themselves making the stela. Furthermore, the formula used in five texts makes it certain that ʾlm is understood in 2928 a/2. Finally, ʾlm/smhrym referred to in 2927 b/3 obviously is qyf/ʾlmhw of 2904/2, where ʾlm is the noun formed from the well-known verb ʾlm of the expression ywm/ʾlm/^{c}ttr.

3 - śl^{c}. - The verb is attested in CIH 211 (11) = DJE 5 (12) /2, where W.W. Müller states that "mir scheint śl^{c} ein Synonym zu hwtr zu sein"(13) without giving any reason (cf. above, p. 6, another case of gratuitous affirmation), and he translates it as "gründen." The author presumably bases his interpretation on the parallel between śl^{c}w/w^{c}dbn of CIH 211/2 and

hwtr/w^{c}db of DJE 12/2, etc.

Such a reasoning is manifestly oversimplistic; otherwise, hḍt "to renew, remodel" should also be synonymous of hwtr "to found" on the basis of yet another parallel, viz. hḍtw/w^{c}dbn of CIH 391/2 (14).

For śl^{c}, cf. Ar sala^{c}a "to break, split, crack," and sal^{c} = sil^{c} "crack in the mountain." The verb may thus be translated "to quarry," "to quarry stones for," or "to be a quarryman," depending on the context. The second translation fits very well into CIH 211, where the object of the verb, while missing, was some kind of building. The first translation applies to all the texts of the present group with the exception of 2920 b where the third translation is most appropriate.

F. Palaeography

Even a simple glance at the collection shows that all the texts form an entity to be ascribed to the first historical period. But, it is no less obvious that that entity is greatly heterogenous because many different letter forms are found side by side, which illustrate the great freedom taken advantage of not only by the engravers belonging to the same family but even by the very same engravers on the double point of view of ductus and lettering.

1 - The ductus of the texts.

a - Two out of twelve isolated personal names are dextrograde, viz. 2917 d and 2927 f.

b - Out of the 112 texts of more than one line each:

70 are ordinary boustrophedon, viz. the lines follow each other alternatively in opposite direction; e.g., 2904; 2905 a, b; 2906 d.

2 are irregularly boustrophedon, viz. two consecutive lines have the same direction; 2919 b and 2937 where lines 3-4 and 1-2, respectively, are senestrograde.

2 are boustrophedon by convenience, viz. the last or the last two letters are added below the left extremity of the preceding line in 2903 d and 2918 f.

1 is dextrograde, 2950.

The texts of the collection belong to a predominantly boustrophedon period since almost two-thirds of the texts are ordinary boustrophedon.

2 - The ductus of the letters in relation with the lines.

a - Some senestrograde letters are found in dextrograde lines:

<u>ɔ</u> in 2910 b/1;

<u>h</u> in 2945/5;

<u>k</u> in 2920 c/2, 2926 b/2, 2932/2;

<u>n</u> in 2910 b/2, 2912 a/2, 2913 b/2, 2918 i/2, 2920 c/2, 2922 o/2,2940/2, 2944/2; and

<u>ġ</u> in 2932/2.

b - Some dextrograde letters are seen in senestrograde lines:

<u>ɔ</u> in 2916 a/1 (twice), 2919 b/1, 2921 f/4, 2934/1, 2;

<u>h</u> in 2918 f/1; 2920 a/3, d/2; 2921 e;

<u>k</u> in 2920 a/3, 2922 o/2;

<u>m</u> in 2922 o/1;

<u>n</u> in 2910 b/2; 2918 f/1, i/1; 2919 b/1; 2921 e; 2922 h; 2933 b/2;2934/2, 3; 2935 a/1, 3; 2945/1.

Note that <u>l</u> and <u>n</u> are dextrograde in the monogram of 2903 b, although it would have been equally easy to engrave the two letters senestrograde.

The preceding examples are too numerous to be understood as engravers' mistakes. Instead, they witness to the same general freedom already illustrated by the ordinary graffiti.

3 - The letter forms.

a - The graffiti. - The various forms of the letters found in the seven graffi-

ti of the collection, although very well known, are nonetheless worth mentioning.

b : the left vertical bar is slightly undulated, of 2921 b.

h : the fork composed of two straight lines makes a sharp angle, of 2922 d/2. That the vertical bar is not appended exactly to the extremity of the angle is most probably due to a distraction on the part of the engraver.

w : a slightly rounded parallelogram in of 2922 d/2.

ḥ : the ordinary letter is upside down, , in 2901 b; and this form losts its upper appendix, in 2902 and 2903 a.

k : the appendix is almost parallel to the bottom of the letter, of 2951; cf. already, e.g., Ja 1025 a.

m : the letter is represented by two forms: the straight-line, bottomless rectangle with diagonal bars inside: of 2901 a, and the same but in a very cursive tracing, of 2902.

ṣ is a bottomless circle resting on two straight, centrifugal bars, and the space between these two is further divided by a short vertical bar, of 2921 b.

r is a very slightly curved line, of 2901 b.

b - The ordinary rock inscriptions. - The present collection of Sab texts was mostly engraved by non-professionals who apparently did their best to imitate the monumental alphabet. Here again (15), however, the alphabet used by them contains a certain amount of local particularities which do evidently not alter the nature of the alphabet or the language of the texts because they normally result from the influence of the local cursive alphabet used by those workers. The most obvious of those particularities are the open forms of d and m, the wide size of d, and the aslant position of the central bar of n. Furthermore, it would be pointless to analyze the smallest peculiarities of the various forms of the letters because they may safely be ascribed to the unaccomplished training of the engravers and/or to the roughness of the rock which, with the exception of the stone of 2904, had not been flattened and polished.

a - Although one can hardly expect to find here perfectly well balanced letters and, therefore, the parallel bars of certain letters to be perfectly equal, as in the texts beautifully engraved by professionals, there are cases where

the difference in the length of the bars is too great to be involuntary; e.g.,

in 2916 a/2, d/1; 2917 e/1; and in 2917 e/1;

in 2917 e/1, 2925 c/2, 2933 b/1, and in 2932/1 and 2933 a/2;

in 2932/2 and 2945/2;

, cf. below; and

 in 2928 c/4.

b - Particular letters.

b is upside down, in 2916 c, and it is a bottomless isosceles trapezoid, in 2912 a/1.

d is open, as in 2916 a/3, 2918 a (with two open m's and three closed m's); the very wide appendix is widely open, in 2935 b/1, but the trapezoid is replaced by a rectangle, in 2927 h/2;

the appendix is very high and open, of 2922 n;

in four cases, the isosceles triangle is appended to the vertical shaft by the right angle of its base:

in two cases, the triangle is higher than large, and its apex is normally placed, viz.above the base:

the base is appended in such a way that the lateral side opposite to the shaft is parallel to the latter, of 2907 c/1;

the triangle being upside down,the right corner is appended to the shaft so that the side opposite to the latter is aslant toward the bottom;either dextrograde in 2908/2, or senestrograde in 2938 a/3.

in another instance, the triangle is wider than high, and traced upside down to the right of the shaft so that its side opposite to the shaft is strongly aslant to the bottom of the letter, in 2943 b/1.

there are two cases of the letter lying on its shaft; the appendix is either an isosceles triangle, of 2950/2, or

an upside-down parallelogram, ⊓ of the same 2950/2.

h: the most common form is a cup-like design supported by a vertical shaft; e.g., Y of 2904/2.

ᴙ , as in the monumental alphabet, is found in 2915 b/1.

ᴠ , the original form of the letter, is seen in 2920 c/2 and 2922 f/2.

This form was developed by the protraction of the left bar of the unchanged form, ᴠ ; or by the addition of a vertical shaft to the unchanged form, Y ; or by the protraction of the left bar after moving the original form 45° to the right so that the shaft became vertical, ᴙ .

ᴠ , the upside form, λ , is found in 2950/1 and 3;

Y is seen in 2909 a/1, 4; 2913 b/1; 2921 f/1; 2922 e/2; 2927 a/1, 2 and b/2;

ᴙ of 2922 i/1 is a cursive form of ᴙ ; cf.,e.g., Ja 1025 d;

Y , a rounded (cursive) form of Y , is attested in 2904/1 (twice), 2909 b, 2928 b/1 and 2930/1;

Y of 2921 e is a rounded form of Y , which is a variant of Y with an obtuse angle instead of an acute one.

w: the most frequently used forms are:

the slightly flattened circle, ⦶ in 14 cases: 2905 c/3; 2906 a/3, d/2; 2918 a, b, f; 2922 a/2; 2933 a/3,4; 2939/3; 2940/1; 2942 d/2; 2948 b/2 and 3;

the ellipsis, ⦶ in 13 instances: 2904/2; 2913 a/2 (twice), 2921 c/3, d (twice); 2922 e/3; 2925 b/1; 2928 a/1; 2929 a/2; 2942 c and 2952/1 (twice);

the circle, ⦶ in 2905 a/2 and 2928 a/1;

the right-angular parallelogram:

⦶ , the figure is resting on the shortest of the two parallels, in 2912 a/4;

⦶ , a slightly rounded form of the figure standing on its acute angle, in 2922 o/3. Note that this letter could easily be read ṭ;compare with 2920 c/1;

the truncated trapezium lying on the right angle of the longest of its parallels, of 2909 a/3;

a slightly rounded square, of 2922 o/1;

the triangle is found in four rounded letters:

the equilateral triangle with its base traced vertically, of 2922 e/3, or in the opposite direction, of 2922 b/3 and 2925 c/3;

the isosceles triangle resting on its base , of 2927 m/2.

h - The cup-like letter form is the most frequently used in the collection, of 2927 b/1, 2928 a/1, 2933 b/2, 2936 b, 2946 a/2, 2948 b/2 and c (twice).

There exist three varieties of the forked letter type:

 with all straight bars in 2907 d/1, 2917 e/2 and 2922 l/2; a variant with the vertical shaft protracted upward, of 2922 o/1;

 with the two lateral bars slightly curved in 2912 a/3 and 2933 a/1; and

 with two slightly undulating bars in 2922 l/1.

Finally, the form involving three vertical, parallel bars is represented by of 2927 m/2, where the central horizontal bar is replaced by two aslant bars making obtuse angles with the central vertical shaft.

h - The fork-like letter is found in 2926 a/1; the same with slightly curved lateral bars is attested in of 2927 g, 2934, wasm. The letter form with a wide cup is seen in of 2936 b, wasm, and of 2941/3.

t - The normal form, a long rectangle lying on one short side, , is usually seen in the texts; e.g, 2905 b/2. When the letter is short, it almost becomes a square which could easily pass for w; e.g., 2920 c/1. The rectangular parallelogram, , replaces the rectangle in 2922 l/1.

z - The most frequently used form of the letter is composed of a circle topping a vertical shaft with two short, parallel and aslant bars added to the left of the shaft, the upper

one being attached to the converging point of the circle and the shaft. The two aslant bars are of equal length, of 2918 f/2 and 2927 b/3; but they are of unequal length, of 2931/3, or even slightly curved, of 2918 e/3.

The two straight, aslant bars are attached to the center of the shaft and of equal length, of 2952/2;but they are of unequal length, of 2949 a/4.

The preceding letter type also exists with a rectangle instead of the circle and set on the right extremity of its basis: of 2925 b/3, where the two aslant bars are of equal length. A variant of this type is of 2928 a/2, with a slightly rounded rectangle and two unequal aslant bars.

y - The flattened circle, (e.g., 2904/1) is more frequent than the ordinary circle (e.g., 2904/2).

Other geometrical forms are also used in the letter forms:

the square, of 2906 c and 2941/2; and a rounded one, of 2918 c/2, with the shaft appended almost at the right extremity of the base instead of at an angle;

the rectangle is slightly rounded, of 2943 a;

the slightly rounded triangle

either isosceles with the horizontal line on top, of 2913b/1;partly rounded, of 2943 b/1; or at the bottom: of 2924 a/1; or to the left: of 2927 1/2 and 2925 a.

or rectangular resting on the longest side of the right angle: of 2927 h/1.

k - Beside the normal form, four others may be mentioned:

the appendix is the protraction of the left lateral bar of a bottomless trapezoid, of 2921 f/1;

the appendix is aslant and attached to the main part by a short bar:

the main figure is a rectangle; the connecting bar makes an obtuse angle with the appendix and is attached toward the left extremity of the horizontal line, of 2906 d/1;

the main figure is a parallelogram; the connecting bar is the protration of the left side of the figure: the two lateral sides of the figure are of equal length, of 2911 b/2, or of unequal length: of 2935 b/1;

the letter of 2927 g, , is a development of the two preceding forms: the main element is a bottomless rectangle, and the appendix of the first type (cf. above) is replaced by an undulating line, as in <u>h</u>.

<u>m</u> - The normal form is that of the monumental alphabet with two more or less equal isosceles triangles, ,e.g., of 2904/1, 2; 2905 c/1 and 3. Some developments of the preceding form are attested here: the upper aslant bar is replaced by a horizontal line, of 2918 d, where the upper angle is somewhat rounded;

the two triangles are rectangular and the right angle involves the shaft and is located in the upper part of the design, of 2927 h/2 (the top is somewhat rounded in 1.1) and 2945/2 (twice);

the two extreme lines of the appendix are parallel to each other, of 2912 c/1.

The open is well represented in a variety of contexts; e.g.,

with a closed and a rectangular in 2918 a and 2933 a;

with a rectangular in 2911 b and 2919 b; and

with two sharp angular in 2910b; and

A rounded open is found with a closed rounded and a rectangular in 2922 1.

The irregular of 2933 b is seen with two closed and two rectangular ; the cursive variant of that type may be found in of 2944/1.

Some cursive forms of the open letter are also found here:

the kidney-like form, of 2912 a/4, is attested with two cursive types of the closed letter and two rectangular ;

the less cursive of 2918 c, 2927 c and 2944/3 is found, respectively, with the rectangular and ,an

obtuse angular and a cursive where the long curved side is replaced by an undulating line, and the variant type and a rectangular .

The very irregular of 2929 a/3 does not fit very well into the whole collection, but of 1.2 is also special.

n - The normal form of the letter is the well-known with two right angles, e.g., in 2904/1.

of 2929 a/3, 2944/4 and 2950/2 is a variant of the preceding form, in which the upper bar became aslant, thus making an acute angle with the central bar.

of 2922 h/2 is a variant of the preceding form where the lower bar became parallel to the upper one.

Another development of the original form is where the central bar is aslant so as to make two obtuse angles; in 2911 b/3, c/1, d/2 (twice); 2915 a/2; 2924 a/3; 2925 a; 2926 c/1, d/2; 2927 c, g, h/1; 2935 a/3; and 2936 a/2 and 3.

The combination of the second and fourth forms described above is of 2929 a/2.

c - The three most frequently used forms of the letter are:

the circle, , e.g., in 2905 a/1 (twice);

the flattened circle, , e.g., in 2904/1;

the ellipsis, , e.g., in 2925 a.

Four other geometrical designs are also found:

the square in 2909 a/1;

the rectangle in 2924 a/3 and 2927 l/2; a rounded form, such as in 2912 c/2 and in 2927 h/1;

the lozenge in 2925 d/1 and 2945/1, and in 2927 k = a circle in 2927 j.

See also the cursive forms in 2925 d/1 and in 2927 c;

the triangle is the most favored of the four geometrical forms:

the equilateral triangle as of 2925 a or in a cursive form, such as of 2912 a/1 and 2951; of 2913 a/2 and 2926 b/2; and of 2921 c/1 and 2927 l/1;

the isosceles triangle is seen in the cursive of 2926 d/2.

f - The most frequently used form is the lozenge set vertically, of 2909 b, 2915 a/4, 2918 h/3, 2926 d/3, 2938 c/2, 2942 b, 2947/3 and 2952/2. Three rounded forms are found in the collection:

the central left angle is rounded, in 2914/4, 2917 a/1, 2922 g/2 and 2943 b/1;

the central right angle is rounded, in 2918 a; 2920 d/2;2922 c/2, m/2, n; 2931/3 and 2950/3;

both central angles are rounded, which is the most frequently used form: 2904/2; 2905 b/2; 2907 a/2; 2911 a/4, d/2; 2916 a/3, d/3; 2917 a/2; 2918 c/1, f/2; 2919 a/5; 2921 a/2, e, 2925 d/2; 2927 b/3, h/3; 2928 a/2, c/3; 2937/3; 2938 a/3; 2941/3; 2949/4 and 2950/3.

Four other geometrical forms are also used:

a large square resting on one of its angles, of 2926 b/1;

an ellipsis set vertically, of 2922 h/1 and 2936 b;

a rounded rectangle set on an extremity of its long axis, of 2943 a; and

the triangle either isosceles with rounded lateral sides, of 2917 e/2;

or equilateral with its base set vertically, of 2927 1/2, with the lower extremity rounded.

g - The eight cases of the letter belong to seven different forms which, for the convenience of the presentation, may be divided into two categories on the basis of the distance separating the two elements of the letter.

The two elements of the letter are joined together:

the three bars are of equal length: of 2907 c/3;

the central bar is longer than the two others, of 2907 d/1;

the two extreme bars are convex, of 2922 h/2 and i/2.

The two elements of the letter are separated from each other by a short vertical bar:

the two lateral bars are broken lines making obtuse angles,

of 2917 b/2;

the same bars are well rounded, of 2927 b/1;

they are convex lines, in 2922 k/2; and

the two straight bars are doubled, of 2937/3.

In all those letters, the upper element is a flattened circle, except in 2922 i/2 and 2927 b/1, which have a circle and an ellipsis, respectively.

r - The form of the letter composed of a broken line making a slightly obtuse angle, , or a right angle, , is attested in 10 texts; cf., e.g., 2907 c/2 and 2912 a/2.

The preceding form with a more or less rounded angle, or , is found 29 times each, e.g., 2904/1 for both, and 2905 b/1, 2906 b/3, etc., and 2905 a/1 and 2, respectively.

The well-rounded form, , is the most frequently used in the collection, viz. in 47 texts, e.g., 2906 a/1 and 2910 a/1.

The next most frequently attested form is a rather flat curve, , which is seen in 34 inscriptions, e.g., 2905 c/2 and 2908/1.

The form of 2919 a/3 and also in 2929 a/1, b/3 and 2931/1 is the preceding form with a short loop added to the lower extremity.

The form is composed of three short bars making two equal, obtuse angles, in 2922 b/1 and 2930/2. In 2925 b/1, the upper half is slightly rounded, .

The preceding form is slightly transformed into of 2922 g/1 and 2927 g, where the upper obtuse angle is wider than the other.

Finally, the 3/4 of a full circle, of 2927 h/2, looks very much like a Liḥ f.

t - The normal form of the letter is used everywhere with only one exception, of 2945/1, where the two upper sections of the St. Andrew cross and the right lower one are replaced by concave lines.

t - The most common form of the letter is the well-known with two more or less perfect circles separated from each other by a short vertical bar; e.g., 2905 a/1, 2 and c/2.

Several letter forms, however, are worth mentioning because geometrical figures, others than the circle, are utilized.

Letter forms composed of three elements:

a rounded triangle above and a rectangle below: of 2924 a/2;

a circle below: of 2912 c/2;

a circle above and a rounded rectangle below: of 2924 a/3;

a rounded triangle below: of 2917 a/2;

a rectangle above and a rounded triangle below: of 2941/2, and of 2943 a/1; and

an ellipsis above and a rounded triangle below: of 2941/1.

Letter forms without the central vertical bar:

a very beautiful letter composed of two squares set angle against angle is of 2906 c (a text where y also has a square), 2927 j = k;

two very cursive forms involving a circle above and a triangle below are of 2927 c, and of 2927 h/1.

The preceding palaeographical description of the collection is detailed enough to illustrate the great heterogeneity of the group. No less evident are the similarities between the letterings of the present collection and those of the graffiti from southern Saudi Arabia which, as the reader could have suspected, are barred from SA by J. Ryckmans (16). Although rather small, the cursive collection from southern Saudi Arabia which I published in 1966 (17), presents valuable parallels with the present collection.

a - The graffiti. - The two cursive m forms are well represented in Ja 1008 and 1016; the tailless, upside-down h is found in Ja 1008 m.

b - The rock inscriptions.

For the curved fork of h of 2904, cf. Ja 1017 a;

for the triangle of y of 2913 b/1 and 2943 b/1, cf. Ja 1009 d;

for the rectangle of y of 2943, cf. Ja 1017 f;

for the square of c, e.g., of 2909 a/1, cf. Ja 1009 d;

for the straight-line triangle of c of 2925 a, cf. Ja 1014 d;

for the rounded triangle of c of 2921 c/1, cf. Ja 1009 a; and

for the angular r, e.g., of 2907 c/2, cf. Ja 1011 l.

4 - The palaeography of some relatives and contemporaries.

The best example illustrating the great variety of letterings found

in the present collection is the two following pairs of texts, each of them being engraved by the very same person:

2912 a = 2933 b by the same ʿmkrb, and

2911 a = 2927 e by the same hlkrb.

In the first pair, the ductus also is different in each text.

When two brothers are involved, the palaeography and the ductus of their texts may also be dissimilar:

same palaeography, but different ductus: 2926 a and 2943 b;

different palaeography, but same ductus: 2915 a and 2926 d;
2911 c and 2927 g;
2916 d and 2929 c;

different palaeography and ductus: 2920 d and 2921 a; 2907 a and 2914 a;
2922 h and i.

In the three texts engraved by three brothers, 2911 b = 2927 e, 2918 c and 2932, the palaeography is different in each case, and 2932 is aboustrophedon while 2911 b and 2918 c are senestrograde.

Here follow two sets of texts engraved by father and son:

same palaeography, but different ductus: 2926 b and c;

different palaeography, but same ductus: 2933 a and 2912a, but the ductus of 2933 b = 2912 a is different;

different palaeography and ductus: 2920 d and 2911 a.

To be sure, the letter forms of each example are close enough to each other to belong to the same general historical period; the same must be said of the texts belonging to the same generation, and in particular those dealt with in the following section.

G - Dating

The impossibility of identifying some individuals because of the frequency of their names has already been pointed out above (p. 9). This difficulty is underlined as identifications are sought in an attempt to find historical parallels; e.g.,

mʿdkrb/dhlfn of 2911 a/2-4 and his homonym of RÉS 2726/23-24 (from Ṣirwâḥ), which dates from the reign of the king Yakrubmalik Watar, son of Yadaʿ'il Bayyin, "about 500 B.C." (18); and

hlkrb dġrn of 2911 b and his homonym in RÉS 3946/4 (also from Ṣirwâḥ), which

dates from the reign of the last Sab mukarrib Karibʾil Watar, son of Damarʿalay, about 100 years earlier than the above-mentioned king.

The palaeography of the whole group disproves the possibility of such identifications by placing the present collection in the early mukarrib period.

The key to the dating problem is given by krbʾl's pedigree of 2904 which includes his two sons smhʿly and smhrym; and the information provides the basic frame for connecting all the texts involving the ẓf(y)/ʾlm pericope with Ja 2848 l and n.

The two mukarribs krbʾl and smhʿly are also listed in the same order in both Ja 2848 l (generation p) and RÉS 4411 (19); smhʿly's name is still attested in Ja 2848 n (generations r and s) with yhqm and his father mhqmm of the clan hll, who were mwdʾs of the same smhʿly. These two persons may be identified with their homonyms of 2918 e because of the three following reasons. a - These two persons also belong to the clan hll;

b - yhqm is the author of the activities implied by the expression nql/ẓf/ʾlm which, as shown by some members of the grbn clan, is characteristic of the generation r-t;

c - the two texts, Ja 2848 n and 2918 e, have in common the same palaeography.

The pedigree of 2918 e-f needs some comment because the same word byn is the end of e/3 and the beginning of f/1. The hypothesis of a reduplication might be considered by some authors, impressed as they might be by the thought that the mukarrib ytʿʾmr of Ja 2848 n/4 would then be the ytʿʾmr of 2918 e/3. The hypothesis could then be corroborated by the following parallel:

mhqmm, the father of yhqm who engraved Ja 2848 n/3-4 and 2918 e, actually engraved two texts immediately following each other as Ja 2848 n/1 and 2, and each text repeats the author's pedigree, his titulature and the name of his clan. The repetition would seem justified by the fact that mhqmm was twice appointed priest.

yhqm would have acted as his father in 2918 e and b, and the repetition of his texts would be justified because he performed the same activity for two different mukarribs.

The basic fact, however, remains, viz. byn belongs to two dif-

ferent texts which were not engraved at the same time; there is thus ample justification for the engraver of the second text to repeat the last word of the first, if needed.

On the one hand, it would have been impossible for yhqm to perform the very same act for two different persons at the very same time. On the other hand, it is irrealistic to assume that two mukarribs would perform the very same personal cultual act at the very same time. The reduplication of b of bn of 2912 a/2 cannot be presented as a valid parallel because it happens in the same text. The formula used in 2918 f/1, byn/yhqm, illustrates the origin of the second name in the case of an ordinary person: it simply is his father's name, as in ʾbʾmr/fḥmtn of 2917 a/1-2.

The two sons of mukarrib krbʾl are also listed in the same order in 2927 b and RÉS 4438, a boustrophedon from the cemetery of Mârib, which may also belong to the generation r because it has in common with 2927 b not only the expression ʿbd/smhʿly but also the two names smhʿly and smhrym listed in the very same order. Furthermore, 2928 a belongs to generation r because it contains not only the formula ślʿ/ẓfy but also the name of smhʿly as in 2948 n/1 and 2 and 2927 b. Finally, the group of 2925 b and 2952 finds its natural place in generations s and t thanks to the mention of ytʿʾmr in the nql/ẓf/ʾlm expression, the same mukarrib being already attested in Ja 2848 n/4.

All preceding information is presented in the shema of pl. 1 where all the names belonging to the mukarrib families in more than one column are capitalized. It is interesting to note that all the texts used in the schema are boustrophedon, with the exception of 2918 e the three lines of which are senestrograde; the two independent lines of Ja 2848 n/1 and 2 also are senestrograde. As a consequence of this schema, the genealogies p-t of JaMAR, X, p. 12, may be enlarged as follows:

p... krbʾl, smhʿly.
q... (krbʾl?, smhʿly).
r... smhʿly + smhrym.
s... smhʿly, ytʿʾmr, dmrʿly, ytʿʾmr/byn.
t... krbʾl/wtr, krbʾl/byn.

For the use of a second name by some mukarribs as well as for the mukarrib rulership, cf. JaMAR, l.c.

The connection of 2928 e and f with Ja 2848 n is studied above,

and its importance goes beyond the historical point of view. Some years ago, A. F.L. Beeston claimed that grby(h)n is a noun indicating the author's profession, viz. "stonemason," in some texts because "the positioning of the term .. immediately after the personal name and before the other elements of the nomenclature would be slightly surprising if it were a tribal affiliation" (20). As could have been expected, the preceding theory was without any delay endorsed by W.W. Müller (21). JaMAR's confutation of that theory (22) is corroborated by the present collection.

The two pericopes, yhqm/hllyn bn/mhqmm of 2918 e/1-2, and
yhqm/bn/mhqmm/mwd/ - /dhll of 2948 n/3-4,
obviously refer to the same person, as indicated above, although A.F.L. Beeston is quite capable of devising a translation of dhll that could fit the two texts according to his theory. Furthermore, the first expression finds a perfect parallel in ṣbḥm/grbyn/bn/wklm of 2927 b/1-2, and this pericope justifies interpreting grbyn as "the Garbânite" in the two following identity cards:

lḥyww/grbyn of 2928 a/1, and
ymlḥʾl/grbyn of 2942 a.

H - The texts

- - - - - - -

Ja 2901: on a side oriented north-northeast.

a: a name about 2 m above ground level:

mllʾt Mallaʾat. - Cf., e.g., mlʾn of Ja 2617 d. For the form, cf.,e. g., rġġlt of Ja 2739 f. - Below the last two letters, there is an isolated ḥ, which may be the first attempt to engrave the following name.

b : below and to the right of the preceding name:

ḥrt Ḥarît. - Clan name, e.g., in CIH 513/2, and reported as a proper name in RSO, 32 (1957), p. 559.

Ja 2902: about 1.30 m below the preceding name:

ḥdm Ḥadim.

Cf. the gentilice ḥdmyn in Sa 152, and the family name ḥdmm in RÉS 3492/2.

Ja 2903: 80 cm below and to the left of Ja 2901.

a: on the right: ḥnn Ḥannân.

The name forms a convex line, and the last two letters are set as a monogram; cf. the clan name, e.g., in JaSIMB, p. 414B; also personal name in Saf, e.g., JaS 9, and in Tham, e.g., Ramm 15.

Ja 2903 b: a vertical monogram composed of two separate sections; the patina is darker than in the preceding graffito:

hnbl Hanbal. - Cf. Ar hanbal "short, large in the belly and short."

Ja 2904: almost 300 m to the left of the preceding graffiti, an isolated grayish sandstone; 117 x (maximum) 19.5 cm; almost constant thickness: 24.5 cm. Boustrophedon text: l. 1: 83 x 7.5 cm; distance to the edges: 27.2 (left) and 6 cm (right); l. 2: 48 x 8 cm; distance to the edges: 26.2 (left) and 38 cm (right).

←--- yl^{c}hms/h$^\flat$/l$^\flat$brk/nb/myrhms Mono- 1
---→ bny/qyf/$^\flat$lmhw/ gram 2

1 Mono- Sumhuriyyâm, son of Karib$^\flat$il, brother of Sumhu^{c}alay,
2 gram has built his sorrow-stela.

The well-known symbol characteristic of the mukarrib period provided the author with the frame of his monogram. The upper right extremity was transformed to become the eye of y, and the letters m and s were added inside the cup of h. - qyf, cf. JaMAR, I, p. 110.

Ja 2905: measurements of the whole group: 46 x 48 cm.

a: in the upper section of the panel:

←--- ^{c}/nb/rtt^{c}b 1 Bi^{c}attar, son of ^{c}Amm-
---→ myt^c/bn/rkwm 2 yata^c, of (the clan) Rakwum.

b^{c}ttr, e.g., Ja 2848 al/1. - ^{c}myt^c, e.g., Ja 2154/1. - rkwm, cf. Ar rakâ (o) "to dig, excavate."

b: immediately below the preceding text:

←--- $^\flat$/nb/brkm^c/ 1 ^{c}Ammkarib, son of $^\flat$Ab-
---→ bsm^c/tfln/ 2 samî^c (of the clan) Taflân.

^{c}mkrb, e.g., Ja 2849 f/21a. - $^\flat$bsm^c, e.g., Gl 1450/1. - tfln, cf. the personal name tflm of Ja 2737 aa.

c: immediately below the preceding text:

^{c}m$^\flat$ns/bn/b 1 ^{c}Amm$^\flat$anas, son of Bi-
^{c}ttr/bn/rk 2 ^{c}attar, of (the clan) Rak-
wm 3 wum.

^{c}m$^\flat$ns, e.g. CIH 119/1.

Ja 2906: 56 cm above and to the right of the preceding group; on a 24 cm deep recess; total height of the group: 65.5 cm.

a: on the top:

ᶜmkrb/ 1 ᶜAmmkarib,
bn/smhkrb 2 son of Sumhukarib,
dswtn 3 he of (the clan) Sawatan.

smhkrb, e.g., Ja 2849 f/21a. - swtn, cf., e.g., ʾwtn of CIH 560/5.

Ja 2906 b: below and to the left of the end of the preceding text:

ᶜmytᶜ/b 1 ᶜAmmyataᶜ, son
n/tbᶜkrb 2 of Tabaᶜkarib,
dysrn 3 he of (the clan) Yasrân.

tbᶜkrb, e.g., Ja 2871/1. - ysrn, well known as the name of a wâdî-side valley near the dam in Mârib (cf., e.g., JaSIMB, p. 415B).

c: immediately to the right of text b/2:

ᶜmytᶜ ᶜAmmyataᶜ. - Same author as that of text b.

d: immediately below texts b and c:

←— ᶜtymᶜ/nb/brkdᶜm 1 Maᶜadkarib, son of ᶜAmmyataᶜ,
—→ dswtn 2 he of (the clan) Sawatan.

mᶜdkrb, e.g., Ja 2849 f/16.

Ja 2907: 52 cm to the right of the preceding group on a side protruding by 40 cm; total height of the group: 56.5 cm.

a: on the top:

←— m d/nb/rmʾklh 1 Halakʾamar, son of Dam-
—→ rydᶜ/bn/ṭfln 2 aryadaᶜ, of (the clan) Ṭaflân.

hlkʾmr, e.g., Ja 2848 aj/1. - dmrydᶜ, e.g., JaSIMB, p. 407A.

b: immediately below the preceding text:

ᶜmkrb/bn/ᶜmytᶜ ᶜAmmkarib, son of ᶜAmmyataᶜ.

c: immediately below the preceding text:

←— /nb/ᶜdyrmd 1 Damaryadaᶜ, son of
—→ tbᶜkrb/b 2 Tabaᶜkarib, of (the
←— mᶜnṣm/n 3 clan) Maṣnaᶜum.

mṣnᶜm, cf. the Qat clan name mhṣnᶜm, e.g., in Ja 119/2.

d: below and to the left of the preceding text:

ṣbḥm 1 Ṣabḥum (of the clan)
bqrm 2 Baqrum.

ṣbḥm, e.g., Ja 2848 ad/2. - bqrm, name of a place (e.g., CIH 534/4) and of a camel (Ja 1017 e).

Ja 2908: 48 cm below the end of the preceding group on a side protruding by 30

cm.

←— qy/nb/rmʾmᶜ 1 ᶜAmmʾamar, son of Yaq-
—→ dmʾl/bn/rṯ 2 damʾil, of (the clan) Raṯad-
←— lʾd 3 ʾil.

ᶜmʾmr, e.g., Ja 2849 f/12a. - yqdmʾl, e.g., Ja 2855/1-2. - rṯdʾl, cf. the personal name, e.g., in Ja 2107/12, but feminine in Qat Ja 357/1.

Ja 2909: below and to the right of text 2907; 53 cm above and to the right of the preceding text and on the same panel; total height: 28 cm.

a: on the top; the first two-thirds forms an ellipse:

←— hlᶜ 1 ᶜAllhu-
m 2 mû,
—→ w/bⁿ 3 son of
←— bqh 4 Hiqabb.

ᶜlhmw, e.g., Ja 532. - hqb, cf. Ar hiqabb "large, big."

b: immediately below the preceding text; length: 47.5 cm:

ᶜmᶜhr/bn/ṭfln ᶜAmmᶜahar of (the clan) Ṭaflân.

ᶜmᶜhr, e.g., Ja 2848 u/2.

Ja 2910: 210 cm to the right of the preceding group but on another panel; 37 x 16 cm.

a:←— lʾd/rmʾmᶜ 1 ᶜAmmʾamar, he of (the clan) ʾAl-
—→ḫyn/ 2 ḫayân.

ʾlḫyn: the root lḫy is frequently used in onomastics.

b: immediately after l. 2 of the preceding text:

—→ bʾṭ bn 1 Bâʾiṭ, son of
←— ntm 2 Mâtin.

bʾṭ, cf. Ar tabaʾʾaṭa "to recline quietly on the side."-mtn, e.g., Ja 2617 1.

Ja 2911: 32 cm above and to the right of the preceding group on a 12 cm deep recess; measurements of the group: 78 x 51.5 cm.

a: on the top:

←— khms 1 Sumhuka-
—→ rb/bn/⌜m⌝ 2 rib, son of Ma-
←— /brkdᶜ 3 ᶜadkarib,
—→ dhlfn/ 4 he of (the clan) Halfân.

b: below an aslant line separating the two texts:

hlkrb/bn ydmrmlk d̲ġrn	Draw- ing	1 2 3	Hâlkarib, son of Yadmurmalik, he of (the clan) Ġurrân.

hlkrb, e.g., Gl 1724/1; for a homonym of hlkrb dġrn, cf. above, p. 25. - ydmrmlk, e.g., RÉS 2740/2. - To the left of the text, a helmeted human head.

c: immediately to the left of text b/3 and below the end of text b/2 and the human head:

smhʾmr/bn	1	Sumhuʾamar, son of
hlkrb/dġrn	2	Hâlkarib, he of (the clan) Ġurrân.

smhʾmr, e.g., JaSIMB, p. 410A.

d: below and to the right of the preceding text and below the inscription b:

ʿmʾmr/<.>	1	ʿAmmʾamar,
bn/ʿmʿly/ṭfln	2	son of ʿAmmʿalay (of the clan) Ṭaflân.

The letter ʿ at the end of l. 1 is the beginning of ʿmʿly; the engraver had thus forgotten bn. - ʿmʿly, e.g., RÉS 4662/3; especially known in Qat, e.g., Ja 343 A/1.

Ja 2912: 120 cm above and to the left of the preceding group on a 30.5 cm deep recess; measurements of the whole group: 26 x 48.5 cm.

a: on the top:

←---	b/brkmʿ	1	ʿAmmkarib, son
---→	<.>n/rb	2	of Rab-
←---	nb/mḥ	3	ḥum, of (the clan)
---→	wkbm	4	Wakbum.

The letter b of the first bn is repeated at the beginning of l. 2. - rbḥm, Sab NaNN 1, Qat RÉS 3871/8, Min Gl 1244/1, and Ḥaḍr Ja 2491 e. - wkbm, cf., e.g., wkbn of Ja 1816, monogram a.

b: immediately below and partly to the left of the preceding text:

←---	nb/rmʾmʿ	1	ʿAmmʾamar, son of
---→	hlkʿly	2	Halakʿalay.

hlkʿly, another name composed of the two well-known hlk and ʿly.

c: immediately below the preceding text:

←---	b/lʾmdqy	1	Yaqdamʾil, son
---→	n/ytʿʾl/bn/	2	of Yataʿʾil, of (the clan)
←---	/mddġ	3	Ġadadum.

yt^{c}ʾl, e.g., JaSINB, p. 409B. - ġddm, e.g., Saf ġddt of JaS 179.

Ja 2913: immediately to the right of the preceding group on a 22 cm deep recess; 76 cm above and to the left of 2911; measurements of the whole group: 41 x 56 cm.

a: on the top:

←—	m^{c}/nb/rmʾlʾ	1	ʾIlʾamar, son of ^{c}Amm-
—→	yt^{c}/rš̌w/hw	2	yata^{c}, priest of Haw-
←—	sb	3	bas.

b: immediately below the preceding text and aslant to the left:

←—	b/yl^{c}klh	1	Halak^{c}alay, son
—→	n/^{c}rʾmr	2	of ^{c}Arrʾamar.

hlk^{c}ly could be the same person as in 2912 b/2. - ^{c}rʾmr, for the first element of this name, cf. Ga 20/8.

c: below the beginning of the preceding text:

sl Sayl. - Cf. Ja 2561/2.

d: below texts b and c:

←—	nb/brk^{c}bt	1	Taba^{c}karib, son of
←—	ʾḥqy/nb/m^{c}ty	2	Yata^{c}um, of (the clan) Yaquḥ-
—→	l	3	ʾil.

yt^{c}m, e.g., Ja 2913 d/2. - yqḥʾl, for the first element of this theophoric name, cf. Ar qaḥḥa "to be pure, unaldulterated."

Ja 2914: 57 cm above and to the right of 2913 and on the same side of the mountain; 29.5 x 31 cm; below the text, and isolated ʾ.

^{c}myt^{c}	1	^{c}Ammyata^{c},
bn/dmry	2	son of Damarya-
d^{c}/bn/	3	da^{c}, of (the clan)
ṭfln/	4	Ṭaflân.

Ja 2915: 28 cm above and to the right of 2911 on a 23.5 cm recess; measurements of the whole group: 15.5 x 29 cm.

a: on the top:

←—	rmʾm^{c}	1	^{c}Ammʾamar,
—→	bn/yt^{c}	2	son of Yata^{c}-
←—	lhd/brk	3	karib, he of (the clan) Hal-
—→	fn	4	fân.

yt^{c}krb, e.g., RÉS 2661.

Ja 2915 b: immediately below the preceding text:

smhʾmr	1	Sumhuʾamar,
dqyntm	2	he of (the clan) Qaynatum.

Ja 2916: a group of four texts engraved on a panel to the right of 2915.

a: on the top:

/ʾbʾmr/bn/	1	ʾAbʾamar, son of
hlkʾmr/bn/	2	Halakʾamar, of (the clan)
rfd/	3	Rafad.

To the left of l. 3, there is an isolated h immediately above a short horizontal bar. - ʾbʾmr, e.g., Ja 2849 f/8. - rfd is a personal name in Ja 1013 p.

b: immediately below the right extremity of the preceding text, an isolated b followed by a vertical line; apparently the wrong start of a text.

c: immediately below and slightly to the left of text b:

ylb Yalubb. - Cf. the personal name lb in Ḥaḍr Yaṯûf 19.

d: below text c:

←---	nb/lʾṯbn	1	Nabaṯʾil, son of
---→	/ʾbʾmr/bn	2	ʾAbʾamar, of (the clan)
←---	/dfr	3	Rafad.

nbṯʾl, e.g., CIH 90/10.

Ja 2917: a group of five texts engraved on a panel immediately to the right of 2916.

a: on the top:

←---	/nb/ᶜfym	1	Mayfûᶜ, son of
---→	yṯᶜm/bn/rfy	2	Yataᶜum, of (the clan) Rafay.

myfᶜ, e.g., Min RÉS 3025/1. - rfy: the letter y is certain; rfd cannot be read; cf. Ar rafâ (o) "to appease, quiet."

b: below the preceding text:

←---	tyh/nb/lʾṯbn	1	Nabaṯʾil, son of Huyat-
---→	ᶜʾl/bn/msnᶜm	2	aᶜʾil, of (the clan) Masnaᶜum.

L. 1-2: the author had engraved ht; he then continued the vertical bar of the second letter to the bottom so as to make y, without erasing the lower circle; e.g., Ja 2849 f/16a.

c: below the left half of text b:

ytᶜ/kr Yataᶜ (of the clan) Karr.

yt^{c} is a feminine name in Min Gl 1274/3. - kr, cf. the proper name in Qat RÉS 4237.

Ja 2917 d: a dextrograde name below the beginning of text c:

←—ms$^{\flat}$ Mâsi$^{\flat}$.

The name is read from left to right on the basis of the dextrograde ductus of both m and $^{\flat}$; cf. in Tham Hu 691 a 5+4/2, and ms$^{\flat}$t in JsaT 659.

e: immediately below text d:

^{c}myt^{c}/bn/$^{\flat}$b$^{\flat}$m	1	^{c}Ammyata^{c}, son of $^{\flat}$Ab$^{\flat}$am-
r/fḥmtn/bn/rfd	2	ar Faḥamtân, of (the clan) Rafad.

fḥmtn, cf. the personal name fḥmn of Ja 2207/1.

Ja 2918: a group of nine texts immediately below 2916 and 2917, and to the right of 2911.

a: immediately below 2916 d and 2917 e:

/mhqmm/bn/qwmm/bn/rfd/

Muhaqimum, son of Qawmum, of (the clan) Rafad.

mhqmm, e.g., Ja 2848 v/1. - qwmm, e.g., Ja 2848 aq.

b: to the left of, and perpendicular to, the preceding text:

dw$^{\flat}$l Daw$^{\flat}$al. - Cf. d$^{\flat}$l in Saf (e.g., CIS 4086) and Tham (Hu 112).

c: below the center of text b:

smhyf^{c}/bn/	1	Sumhuyafa^{c}, son of
ydmrmlk/ḏgrn	2	Yadmurmalik, he of (the clan) Ḏurrân.

smhyf^{c}, e.g., JaSIMB, p. 410A.

d: immediately below the preceding text:

smkrb/bn/m^{c}dkrb Sumkarib, son of Ma^{c}adkarib.

smkrb, e.g., NaNAG 1/7.

e: immediately below a horizontal line traced below text d:

yhqm/hllyn	1	Yuhaqim, the Halilite,
bn/mhqmm/nql	2	son of Muhaqimum, has transported
ẓf/$^{\flat}$lm/yt^{c} $^{\flat}$mr/byn	3	the stone slab of the sorrow-stela of Yata^{c}-$^{\flat}$amar Bayyin.

yhqm, e.g., Ja 2849 f/10a. - hllyn, e.g., Gl 1743/1.

f: immediately below the preceding text:

←—	nyllh/mqhy/nyb	1
←—	fẓ/lqn/mmqhm/nb	2
←—	w/l$^{\flat}$brk/ml$^{\flat}$/y	3
—→	tr	4

1 Bayyin Yuhaqim, the Halilite,
2 grandson of Muhaqimum, has dug the two stone slabs
3 of the sorrow-stela of Karibʾil Wa-
4 tar.

yhqm, second personal name, is the name of the author's brother according to text e/1-2.

Ja 2918 g: immediately to the right of text e:

ʿmʿly	1	ʿAmmʿalay,
bn/ʿmʿh	2	son of ʿAmmʿah-
r/kbr/hm	3	ar, leader of fi-
[s]/hgrm	4	v[e] towns.

kbr, cf., e.g., JaSIMB, p. 438A.

h: to the right of text f/2-4 and below the end of text g:

←— rkbʾ	1	ʾAbka-
—→ b/hl	2	rib (of the clan) Hal-
←— /nf	3	fân.

ʾbkrb, e.g., Ja 2849 f/4.

i: below the beginning of text f:

←— b mzzn	1	Nazzum, son
—→ n/sbʿ	2	of Sabaʿ.

nzzm, cf. Tham nz of Hu 201/1, and Saf nzt, e.g., in Ox 264. - sbʿ, Ja 2740 e.

Ja 2919: on a panel immediately to the right of 2917 and 2918.

a: on the top:

←— ʿtymʿ	1	ʿAmmyataʿ,
—→ bn/smhʾm	2	son of Sumhuʾam-
←— nrġd/r	3	ar, he of (the clan) Ġurrân.

b: immediately below the preceding text:

←— ʾṭbn	1	Nabaṭʾil,
—→ l/bn/	2	son of
←— sklh	3	Halaksa-
←— ṭ/ʿm	4	mîʿ, (of the clan) Ta-
—→ fln/	5	flân.

hlksmʿ, e.g., JaSIMB, p. 407B.

Ja 2920: a panel to the right of 2919.

a: on the top:

←—	rhᶜmᶜ	1	ᶜAmmᶜahar,
—→	bn/hlkᵓm	2	son of Halakᵓam-
←—	mh/rbk/r	3	ar, leader of fi-
—→	s/hgrm/	4	ve towns.
	Monogram		Monogram

The monogram is that of the author's name.

Ja 2920 b: immediately below the preceding group:

←—	nb/brkdd	1	Dôdkarib, son of
—→	ᵓbᵓmr/dhl	2	ᵓAbᵓamar, he of (the clan) Hal-
←—	/ᶜlś/nf	3	fân, was a quarryman.
	Monogram		monogram

ddkrb, RÉS 4579/1, Min Sa 103/1, and Ḥaḍr RÉS 4700/1. - The monogram is that of the author's name.

c: immediately below the preceding complex:

←—	b/ᶜfyṭbn	1	Nabaṭyafaᶜ, son
—→	n/mlkšhr	2	of Malikšahar.

nbṭyfᶜ, e.g., YM 1064/8. - mlkšhr, CIH 605/7.

d: below texts 2919 b and the left half of 2920 c:

	mᶜdkrb/bn/nbṭ	1	Maᶜadkarib, son of Nabaṭ-
	ᵓl/dhlfn	2	ᵓil, he of (the clan) Halfân.

Ja 2921: below 2919 and 2920.

a: below the right half of 2920 d:

←—	nb/ᶜfyhms	1	Sumhuyafaᶜ, son of
—→	nbṭᵓl/dhlfn	2	Nabaṭᵓil, he of (the clan) Halfân.

b: below the beginning of the preceding text:

ḥbṣmᶜ Ḥabbṣamaᶜ.

For the second element of this composite name, cf. smᶜ, the name of a Min clan in Gl 1280/1.

c: below a horizontal line separating this text from text b:

←—	nb/brkᶜbt	1	Tabaᶜkarib, son of
—→	mhqmm/bn/r	2	Muhaqimum, of (the clan) Rak-
←—	mwk	3	wum.

d: below, to the left of, and perpendicular to, the preceding text; on the narrow side connecting the two panels of 2918 and 2921:

ḥmrwḥ/wᶜd Ḥammrawâḥ (of the clan) Wâᶜid.

ḥmrwḥ: for the second element of this name, cf. Min rwḥ'l of Ja 2251 c. - w'd, cf. the personal name in Ja 2615 f, and the second place name in JaSIMB, p. 114B.

Ja 2921 e: below text c:

smhkrb/dhlfn Sumhukarib, he of (the clan) Halfân.

f: below the left two-thirds of the preceding text:

smhkrb/bn	1	Sumhukarib, son of
'myt'/bn	2	'Ammyata', of (the clan)
t'rn	3	Ta'rân.

To the right of l. 1, there is an isolated '; and below the center of the text, one may see the partly preserved drawing of a quadruped. - t'rn, cf. Tham t'r of Eut 96+97/2.

Ja 2922: a large panel immediately to the right of 2920 and 2921.

a: in the upper right corner:

←---	wmhrm'	1	'Amarhumû,
---→	bn/wkbm	2	of (the clan) Wakbum.

'mrhmw, e.g., Ja 532.

b: immediately below the preceding text:

←---	nb/rh'm'	1	'Amm'ahar, son of
---→	mlk'mr/bn/	2	Malik'amar, of (the clan)
←---	mbkw	3	Wakbum.

mlk'mr: the two components are very well known in onomastics.

c: immediately to the left of the preceding text:

←---	'tym'	1	'Ammyata',
---→	bn/tfln	2	of (the clan) Taflân.

d: below text c, a graffito in stippling:

←---	rmd	1	Damar-
---→	hmw	2	humû. - E.g., Ja 2849 e/1.

e: below the right part of text b:

←---	l'ṭbn	1	Nabaṭ'il,
---→	bn/'m'hr	2	son of 'Amm'ahar,
←---	m(b)kw/nb	3	of (the clan) Wak(b)um.

wk(b)m: the letter s is certain on the rock instead of b.

f: below text d and to the left of text e/3:

'zzm/bn/	1	'Azîzum, son of
gmhm	2	Gammhum.

ᶜzzm, e.g., CIH 517/1. The name of Ḥaḍr RÉS 5081 cannot be found on the published photograph. - gmhm: for the first component, cf. gm in Tham Hu 331 and in Saf, e.g., CIS 1459.

Ja 2922 g: below the left half of text e/3 and the right two-thirds of text f:

mᶜdkrb/bn 1 Maᶜadkarib of (the clan)
ṭfln 2 Ṭaflân.

h: immediately below the preceding text:

←--- ᶜfym/nb/ᶜtymᶜ 1 ᶜAmmyaṯaᶜ, son of Mayfûᶜ-
---→ m/bn/msnᶜm 2 um, of (the clan) Maṣnaᶜum.

myfᶜm, e.g., Ḥaḍr CaTh 17 b/1, and Qat Ja 2452 e/1.

i: immediately below the preceding text:

←--- nb/mᶜfym/nb/lᵓᶜtyh 1 Huyataᶜᵓil, son of Mayfûᶜum, of (the clan)
---→ msnᶜm 2 Maṣnaᶜum.

j: below and to the right of the preceding text:

←--- /ylᶜbᵓ/nb/rmᵓhms 1 Sumhuᵓamar, son of ᵓAbᶜalay,
---→ dġrn 2 he of (the clan) Ġurrân.

ᵓbᶜly, known as a feminine name, e.g., in CIH 6/1.

k: immediately below the right half of text j/1:

←--- ᶜ/nb/brkᶜty 1 Yataᶜkarib, son of ᶜAmm-
---→ mytᶜ/bn/msn 2 yataᶜ, of (the clan) Maṣna-
←--- mᶜ 3 ᶜum.

l: below the end of texts i and j:

←--- myḥ/nb/mṭyš 1 Šayṭum, son of Ḥayma-
---→ wm/ḥqqn/ 2 wum, of (the clan) Ḥaqqân.

šyṭm, Gl 1522/1. - ḥymwm, cf. the personal names ḥmw of Ja 2164, and ḥmwn of Ja 2399. - ḥqqn, Saf WH 2146.

m: below the left third of text j/2, the end of text k, and to the right of the interlinear space of text l:

ᶜmkrb/ 1 ᶜAmmkarib,
bn/ṭfln/ 2 of (the clan) Ṭaflân.

n: below the right two-thirds of text l and the left half of text m:

ᶜkdn/bn/ṭfln ᶜAkdân of (the clan) Ṭaflân.

ᶜkdn, cf. Saf ᶜkd of WH 608, ᶜkdt of CIS 4696, and Tham ᶜkdᵓl of WiTa 17 b.

Ja 2922 o: below the left two-thirds of the preceding text:

←---	mmᶜ/nb/mwyḥ	1	Ḥaywum, son of ᶜAmmum,
---→	bn/wkbm/	2	of (the clan) Wakbum.

ḥywm, e.g., Huz 18 a. ÷ ᶜmm, Qat Ja 209/1, but feminine in Fakhry 51 and Ja 251.

Ja 2923: 81.5 cm above the beginning of 2922 a, and above and to the right of 2914, an inscription engraved on the edge of the panel; the lower half of the first two-thirds is broken off; engraved normally, but perpendicular to the ground level:

ₜ/l./bn/tbᶜkₜrb/bn/rfd La., son of Tabaᶜkarib, of (the clan) Rafad.

l.: there is no way of knowing whether the second letter was either ẓ, y, s or t.

Ja 2924: on the panel above 2922 and parallel to the edge above 2922 a; 2938 is located above and to the right of 2924, and 2925 b is to the right of the present text; total height: 42 cm.

a: the patina is almost completely black; normal letter height: 5.8 cm; length of l. 3: 24.8 cm.

←---	ymᶜ/	1	ᶜAmmya-
---→	tᶜ/b	2	taᶜ, son
←---	lʾᶜtyh/n	3	of Huyataᶜʾil,
---→	d[...	4	he of (the clan) ...

The text was left incomplete; the small cup-like design to the right of d is an asperity in the rock and not the beginning of ḥ.

b: an isolated ḥ; dark brown patina; the upper end of the upper right bar encroaches upon the lower extremity of t of text a/3; 6 x 17 cm.

Ja 2925: on a 51 cm deep recess compared with 2923.

a: in the upper section; aslant to the left and forming a curve:

ᶜmytᶜ/bn/mlksmᶜ ᶜAmmyataᶜ, son of Maliksamîᶜ.

mlksmᶜ, e.g., Ja 2849 y/12.

b: below and perpendicular to the end of the preceding text:

			Wasm
←---	rm/nb/rtwmᶜ	1	ᶜAmmwatar, son of Mar-
---→	wn/kbr/grbn	2	wân, leader of (the clan) Garbân,
←---	lʾ/fẓ/lqn/	3	has transported the stone slab of the sorrow-ste-
---→	m/ytᶜʾmr	4	la of Yataᶜʾamar.

The right section of the wasm is already known by the texts of al-ᶜAbr (cf. my paper in BASOR, No. 172, December, 1973, p. 47, CI6), and the vertical bar is very frequent in that collection (cf., l.c., AI12, etc). - ᶜmwtr, e.g., Ja 2848 d/1. - mrwn, Ja 2617 b, and Ḥaḍr mrwᶜm of RÉS 4209.

Ja 2925 c: below the center of the preceding text:

←---	nb/ᶜtymᶜ	1	ᶜAmmyataᶜ, son of
---→	ᶜmkrb/d	2	ᶜAmmkarib, he of (the clan)
←---	ntws	3	Sawatan.

d: below the two preceding texts:

ᶜmytᶜ/bn/ᶜmš	1	ᶜAmmyataᶜ, son of ᶜAmmša-
fq/bn/lmmn	2	faq, of (the clan) Lammân.

ᶜmšfq, e.g., Ja 2849 f/11, in Ḥaḍr al-ᶜAqabah 21, and in the Qat graffiti from the country of Mukérâs.- lmmn, cf. Saf lmmt in Tap 19.

Ja 2926: on a panel immediately to the right of 2925.

a: on the top:

←---	nb/rhdmᶜ	1	ᶜAmmdahar, son of
---→	yqdmʾl	2	Yaqdamʾil,
←---	mddg/nb	3	of (the clan) Gaddadum.

ᶜmdhr, e.g., Ja 400 B/1; cf. also Qat Ja 899 B/1, Min Gl 1286/1, and Ḥaḍr Ja 925/5. - gddm, e.g., JaSIMB, p. 413A.

b: immediately below the preceding text:

	Wasm		Wasm
←---	fyklh	1	Halakya-
---→	ᶜ/bn/hlk	2	faᶜ, son of Halak-
←---	/ᶜms	3	samîᶜ.

hlkyfᶜ, e.g., Ja 2848 aj/11.

c: immediately below the preceding text, with l. 1 to the left of text b/3:

←---	ṯbn	1	Nabaṯ-
---→	ʾl/bn/<.>	2	ʾil, son of
←---	ᶜfyklh	3	Halakyafaᶜ.

In l. 2, the worker engraved h after ʾl/, the first letter of hlkyfᶜ of l. 3;he then reused the vertical bar of h to engrave b without erasing the cup of the letter. The worker also engraved the cup of a h after bn/, the first letter of hlkyfᶜ, but he left it unfinished to start all over again in l. 3.

Ja 2926 d: immediately below the preceding text:

←---	b/rmʾbʾ	1	ʿAbʾamar, son
---→	n/ytʿkr	2	of Yataʿkar-
←---	nflhd/b	3	ib, he of (the clan) Halfân.

Ja 2927: a large panel immediately to the right of 2926, and above and to the right of 2919.

a: in the upper right corner:

←---	/ʿfyklh/	1	Halakyafaʿ,
---→	bn/ʾbhl/	2	son of ʾAbhal.

ʾbhl, e.g., CIH 662 and Qat AM 60.426, but feminine in Min Gl 1239/3; cf. the clan name in Ja 2779 i/2.

b: immediately below the preceding text and in an irregular, rectilinear cartouche the left section of which is the edge of the panel:

←---	lkw/nb/nybrg/mḥbṣ/	1	Ṣabḥum, the Garbânite, son of Wak-
---→	m/ʿbd/smhʿly/ywm/ślʿ	2	lum, was the servant of Sumhuʿalay, when he quarried
←---	yrḥms/mlʾ/yfẓ	3	the two stone slabs of the sorrow- stela of Sumhuriy-
---→	m	4	yâm.

grbyn, cf. the clan name, e.g., in RÉS 3920.- wklm, RÉS 4729.

c: below the last two-thirds of text b:

hytʿʾl/bn/ʿmrm Huyataʿʾil, son of ʿAmrum.

ʿmrm, e.g., CIH 829/1, and also Qat Ja 864/2.

d: below the preceding text:

ʾbʾmr/bn/ʿmkrb ʾAbʾamar, son of ʿAmmkarib.

e: below the preceding text:

hlkrb/bn/ydmrmlk/dġrn/ Wasm

Hâlkarib, son of Yadmurmalik, he of (the clan) Ġurrân. Wasm.

The wasm is composed of a palm with five fingers hanging down and, above it, a convex line; cf. already the hand topped by a horizontal line to the left of Ḥaḍr RÉS 5078.

f: a graffito below the end of the preceding text and its wasm:

---→ ʾbsmʿ ʾAbsamîʿ.

The appendix above the second letter is adventitious.

g: immediately below the preceding name:

dmrkrb/bn/hlkrb/<.> ḏgrn

Damarkarib, son of Hâlkarib, he of (the clan) Ḏurrân.

The worker engraved first k/m; he then used the upper part of the word divider to engrave r the bottom of which encroaches upon the lower half of m. After engraving b/ of the second name, the worker cut the right bar of d; then he forgot about it and chiseled a complete d - dmrkrb, e.g., JaSIMB, p. 407A.

Ja 2927 h: immediately below the preceding text:

←---	stbn nb mᶜty/Wasm/	1	Wasm. Yatiᶜum, son of Nabaṭsa-
---→	mᶜ/rfd/	2	mîᶜ (of the clan) Rafad.

nbṭsmᶜ: the two components of this name are well known.

i: immediately below the left half of text h/2:

←---	nb/brkmᶜ	1	ᶜAmmkarib, son of
---→	nbṭkrb/	2	Nabaṭkarib.

nbṭkrb, e.g., JaSIMB, p. 410A.

j: below and to the right of text g and to the right of the interlinear space between texts g and h:

bᶜttr/mwd	1	Biᶜattar, confident of
smhrym	2	Sumhuriyyâm.

mwd, e.g., JaMAR, X, p. 75.

k: below and to the right of text h/2:

bᶜt is the beginning of text j which could not be engraved because of the size of the letters.

l: immediately below texts k and i; engraved in a arrow-shape manner due to text m:

mᶜdkrb/bn/	1	Maᶜadkarib, son of
yfᶜm/bn/ytᶜm	2	Yafaᶜum, of (the clan) Yataᶜum.

yfᶜm, e.g., Ja 1014 b.

m: between the last two-thirds of the preceding text:

/smhʾmr/bn/r	1	Sumhuʾamar, son of Raš-
šwn/dnḥsn	2	wân, he of (the clan) Naḥsân.

ršwn, e.g., JaSIMB, p. 417B. - nḥsn, e.g., CIH 78/10.

Ja 2928 a: to the right of 2927 d and e:

←---	nybrg/wwyhl/	1	Luḥaywaw, the Garbânite,
---→	ślᶜ/zfy/sm	2	has quarried the two stone slabs of Sum-
←---	ylᶜh	3	huᶜalay.

lḥyww, RÉS 4811+4808 (cf. JaCMYE, p. 34).

Ja 2928 b: below the end of 2928 a and the beginning of 2927 e:

←—	rhšklm	1	Malikšahar,
—→	drbb	2	he of (the clan) Rabîb.

rbb, cf., e.g., the verb in RÉS 3079/1 (cf. JaMAR, III, p. 73).

c: below the preceding text:

←—	rmʾklh	1	Halakʾamar,
—→	bn/ʿmʿ	2	son of ʿAmmʿa-
←—	rbk/yl	3	lay, leader of
—→	ḥms/h	4	five
←—	mrg	5	towns.

Ja 2929: on a panel immediately to the right of 2928.

a: above and to the right of 2928 c:

ʾbkr	1	ʾAbka-
b/bn/ršw	2	rib, son of Raš-
n ṡrwm	3	wân, he of (the clan) Śarwum.

ṡrwm, cf. Ar sarw "glory, distinction."

b: to the right of 2928 c/4-5:

nšʾkrb	1	Našaʾkarib,
bn/dmrk	2	son of Damarka-
rb/dġrn	3	rib, he of (the clan) Ġurrân.

nšʾkrb, e.g., Ja 2849 f/19a. - dmrkrb, e.g., Ja 2927 g.

c: below the preceding text:

←—	b/brkʿbt	1	Tabaʿkarib, son
—→	n/ʾbʾmr	2	of ʾAbʾamar,
←—	dfr/nb	3	of (the clan) Rafad.

Ja 2930: on the same side as 2928 a, and 17 cm to the right of 2929 a; 61 x 15 cm.

←—	k/rmʾklh/nb/brkdʿm	1	Maʿadkarib, son of Halakʾamar,
—→	br/hms/hgrm/	2	leader of five towns.

Ja 2931: 23 cm below and to the right of 2929 b/1 on a panel protruding by 15.5 cm; 33.5 x 27.5 cm:

ydmrmlk/bn	1	Yadmurmalik, son of
dmrkrb/dġrn	2	Damarkarib, he of (the clan) Ġurrân,
ślʿ/ẓftm	3	has quarried stone slabs.

Drawing Drawing

For the drawing, cf. 2911 b.

Ja 2932: 74.5 cm below and slightly to the right of the preceding text and on a panel protruding by 36 cm; 57.5 x 21 cm:

←—	y/nb/brkdd	1	Dôdkarib, son of Yad-
—→	dmr/mlk/dġrn	2	murmalik, he of (the clan) Ġurrân.

ydmr/mlk as in CIH 512/4-5.

Ja 2933: 60 cm above and to the right of 2932 and on a 18.5 cm deep recess; measurements of the whole group: 24.5 x 40.5 cm.

a: in the upper part:

rbḥm/bn	1	Rabḥum, son of
rbbhmw	2	Rabîbhumû,
bn/wkbm	3	of (the clan) Wakbum.

rbbhmw, for the first element, cf. 2928 b/2; cf. also, e.g., rbbns of Fakhry 87/3-4. For the etymology of rbbns and J. Ryckmans' erroneous theory, cf. JaCMYE, pp. 169-191 and especially pp. 182-183.

b: immediately below a horizontal line separating the text from the preceding inscription:

ʿmkrb/bn	1	ʿAmmkarib, son of
r bḥm/bn	2	Rabḥum, of (the clan)
w kbm	3	Wakbum.

Ja 2934: 25.5 cm to the right of the preceding group on a side protruding by 15 cm; 19 x 34 cm.

hlkʾmr	1	Halakʾamar,
bn/dmrʾ⌈m⌋	2	son of Damarʾam-
r/dysrn	3	ar, he of (the clan) Yasrân.

dmrʾmr is known in the Qat graffiti from the country of Mukérâs. - Below the text, there is a composite wasm: the letter ḥ topping n inside a vertical rectangular cartouche resting on a short, bottomless side and topped by two adjacing isosceles triangles.

Ja 2935: 34 cm to the right of 2934 on a panel protruding by 20.5 cm; measurements of the whole group: 38.5 x 34 cm.

a: in the upper section:

ʾbkrb/bn	1	ʾAbkarib, son of
ʿmrʾmr/dy	2	ʿAmmʾamar, he of (the clan) Yas-
srn	3	rân.

Ja 2935 b: immediately below the second half of the preceding text:

←—	brkdd	1	Dôdkarib,
—→	bn/gd	2	son of Gadd,
←—	nrġd	3	he of (the clan) Ġurrân.

gd, Saf Wi 344.

Ja 2936: 15.5 cm to the right of the preceding group on a side protruding by 3 cm; 27 x 40 cm.

a: in the upper section:

nbṭyfᶜ/b	1	Nabaṭyafaᶜ, son
n/ᶜmkrb	2	of ᶜAmmkarib,
dysrn	3	he of (the clan) Yasrân.

b: immediately below the preceding text:

lḥy/yfᶜm Laḥay (of the clan) Yafaᶜum.

lḥy, e.g., Huz 17 d. - Below the text, there is a composite wasm, which is a variant of that of 2934, viz. a senestrograde h with three short vertical bars inside the cup of the letter and inside a vertical rectangular cartouche resting on a short, bottomless side and topped by two isosceles triangles, each of which has a dot in its center.

Ja 2937: 57 cm above and to the right of 2934 and on the same panel; 21.5 x 19 cm.

←—	⌜rkᶜ⌝[..]	1	..aᶜkarib,
←—	nlfṭ/n⌜b⌝/b	2	of (the clan) Ṭaflân,
—→	ślᶜ/ṣftm	3	has quarried stone slabs.

The author's name may be restored either tbᶜkrb (e.g., 2947, from the same clan), or ytᶜkrb (e.g., 2905 b/2).

Ja 2938-2940 are engraved above and to the right of 2914, and 49 cm to the left of the upper left corner of the panel of 2925 and on a 38 cm deep recess; measurements of the whole group: 77 x 71 cm.

Ja 2938: to the left.

a: in the upper section:

←—	nb/rmʾmᶜ	1	ᶜAmmʾamar, son of
—→	mhqmm/bn	2	Muhaqimum, of (the clan)
←—	dfr	3	Rafad.

b: immediately below the preceding inscription:

ᶜmytᶜ/bn/ 1 ᶜAmmyataᶜ, son of
tbᶜkrb 2 Tabaᶜkarib,
bn/rkwm 3 of (the clan) Rakwum.

c: immediately below the preceding text:

←— /nb/brkmᶜ 1 ᶜAmmkarib, son of
—→ ᶜmᵓmr/bn rfd 2 ᶜAmmᵓamar, of (the clan) Rafad.

Ja 2939: on a panel immediately to the right of 2928:

←— ᶜfʳyˡ[..] 1 [..]yafaᶜ,
—→ bn/ᵓlhm 2 son of ᵓIlha-
←— h/wšr/r 3 mar, priest of Haw-
—→ wbs 4 bas.

[..]yfᶜ: two letters are missing at the beginning of the name; cf. JaSIMB, p. 409A, and, e.g., ᵓbyfᶜ of Ja 2741 d. - ᵓlhmr: the two elements are well known in onomastics.

Ja 2940: on a small panel immediately to the right of 2939:

←— mwd 1 Dawm-
—→ n/bn/ᶜ 2 ân of (the clan) ᶜAt-
←— nlkt 3 kalân.

dwmn, cf. JaSIMB, p. 407B. - ᶜtkln, cf. l.c., p. 416B.

Ja 2941: 94 cm to the right of 2927 a/1 on a 68 cm deep recess; 28.5 x 25.5 cm:

←— nb/ᶜtymᶜ 1 ᶜAmmyataᶜ, son of
—→ hytᶜᵓl 2 Huyataᶜᵓil,
←— ʳnˡflhd 3 he of (the clan) Halfân.

Ja 2942: to the right of 2928 a and 31 cm to the right of the preceding text on a 12.7 cm deep recess, and to the right of 2927 a-b and 2928 a; measurements of the whole group: 88 x 53 cm.

a: in the upper section:

ymlhᵓl/grbyn/ Yamlahᵓil, the Garbânite.

ymlhᵓl, RÉS 3902, no. 135/1.

b: immediately below the center of the preceding text:

hmᶜtt/bn/dfr Hammᶜatat, son of Dâfir.

hmᶜtt, e.g., Ja 2217. - dfr, cf. the proper name ndfr of RÉS 4807 (cf. JaCMYE, p. 33).

c: immediately below the preceding text:

ᵓbkrb/bn/smhᵓmr/dswtn/

ʾAbkarib, son of Sumhuʾamar, he of (the clan) Sawatan.

Ja 2942 d: immediately below and to the right of the preceding text:

←--- /nb/lʾṯbn/nb/r < . > mʾklh 1

---→ wkbm/ 2

1 Halakʾamar, son of Nabaṯʾil, of (the clan)

2 Wakbum.

The worker had engraved hlkʾm/ and, without erasing the word divider, he simply kept on going with the engraving of r.

Ja 2943: 50 cm above and to the left of the preceding group on a 30 cm deep recess, and above and slightly to the right of 2927; 60 x 16 cm.

a: in the upper section:

hytᶜʾl/bn/ṯfln Huyataᶜʾil of (the clan) Ṯaflân.

b: immediately below the center of the preceding text:

←--- dqy/nb/qfšmᶜ 1 ᶜAmmšafaq, son of Yaqad-

---→ mʾl/bn/gddm 2 amʾil, of (the clan) Gaddadum.

In the clan name, the worker had first engraved yq of yqdmʾl, which he corrected to gd.

Ja 2944: 21 cm above and to the left of the preceding text on the same panel; 32.5 x 33 cm:

←--- b/rmʾmᶜ 1 ᶜAmmʾamar, son

---→ n/mlks 2 of Maliksa-

←--- ġd/ᶜm 3 mîᶜ, he of (the clan) Ġur-

---→ r n/ 4 râm.

Ja 2945: 45 cm above 2943 on a 23 cm deep recess; 50 x 17 cm:

←--- qhm/nb/brkᶜbt 1 Tabaᶜkarib, son of Muhaqi-

---→ mm/dhms/hgrm 2 mum, he of five towns.

The last letter of l. 1 is complete, but partly hidden by the edge of the left panel.

Ja 2946: 53.5 cm above and to the left of 2945 on an almost parallel panel.

a: to the left:

ᶜmʾmr/bn 1 ᶜAmmʾamar, son of

ṣbḥm/d 2 Sabḥum, he of (the clan)

qyntm 3 Qaynatum.

b: to the right:

ᶜmʾmyr/ 1 ᶜAmmʾumayr,

bn/ᶜmytᶜ 2 son of ᶜAmmyataᶜ,
bn/tᵓrm 3 of (the clan) Taᵓrum.

ᶜmᵓmyr: the two elements are well known in onomastics. - tᵓrm, cf. tᵓrn of 2921 f/3.

Ja 2947: 36.5 cm above and to the left of 2943 on a 30 cm deep recess, and above the space between 2926 and 2927:

←— brkᶜbt 1 Tabaᶜkarib,
—→ /bn/hlkqᶜ 2 son of Halakqaᶜᶜ,
←— nlfṭ/nb/ 3 of (the clan) Ṭaflân.

L. 1 is engraved between two finely traced lines. - hlkqᶜ: for the second element, cf. Tham qᶜ of Eut 335.

Ja 2948: 3 cm to the left of the preceding text on a protruding panel; measurements of the whole group: 45 x 37 cm.

a: in the upper section:

←— ↑/ylᶜmᶜ/nb/brkmᶜ/ 1
—→ dhms/hgrm 1 2
1

1 Wasm. ᶜAmmkarib, son of ᶜAmmᶜalay,
2 he of five towns.

Note the wasm in the form of an arrow and the two isolated 1's to the right of the text.

b: below the beginning of the preceding text:

←— nb/ylᶜmᶜ 1 ᶜAmmᶜalay, son of
—→ ḫywm/bn/ 2 Ḫaywum, of (the clan)
←— mbkw 3 Wakbum.

ḫywm, e.g., Huz 18 a.

c: to the left of text b/3 and below the end of text a/2:

kbḫ/ḥn Kâbiḫ (of the family) Ḥann.

kbḫ, e.g., Ja 2737 k. - ḥn, cf. the personal names ḥn in Saf (e.g., WiTh 81) and Liḥ ḥnlh of Stiehl 42/1-2.

Ja 2949: 23 cm above and to the left of 2948; 33 x 25 cm:

←— nb/brykmᶜ 1 ᶜAmmkayrab, son of
—→ ᵓbkrb 2 ᵓAbkarib,
←— nrsyd 3 he of (the clan) Yasrân,
—→ ślᶜ/ẓftm 4 has quarried stone slabs.

Ja 2950: 180 cm above and to the right of 2945 on a 91 cm deep recess; 21 x 16 cm:

---→ smhkb/b 1 Sumhukabb (of the)

---→ n gddm 2 (clan) Gaddadum

---→ fht 3 Fawhat.

smhkb: for the third element, cf. the personal name kbb of Min Ja 2282 b and Sab Ja 2543 c. - fht, cf. the personal name in Saf, e.g., LP 628.

Ja 2951: a graffito 95 cm above and to the left of 2950:

ʿlkm ʿAlkum. - Cf. ʿlk of Ja 2773 c/2.

Ja 2952: about 10 m above and to the right of 2951:

←--- rbk/nwrm/nb/rmʾmʿ/nb/wmhrmd 1

---→ grbn/nql/ẓfy/ʾlm/krbʾl/byn 2

1 Damarhumû, son of ʿAmmʾamar, grandson of Marwân, leader of

2 Garbân, has transported the two stone slabs of the sorrow-stela of Karibʾil Bayyin.

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Commentary on 2925 b/2 to be reported to p. 34:

qyntm, cf. the personal name qynt, e.g., in Ja 2769 a, and the family name qyntm in the Qat graffiti from the country of Mukérâs.

Notes

(1) Cf. NESE, 1 (1972), p. 105. (2) Cf. JaMAR, VII, pp. 198-208.

(3) Cf. Pismennye pamyatniki i problemy istorii kultury narodov vostoka, XIV, Mosow, 1979, pp. 123-127.

(4) The main thrust of J. Ryckmans' review (cf. Le Muséon, 86 [1973], pp. 543-547) is yet another attempt to justify his uncle's and hiw own distribution of the graffiti from southern Saudi Arabia. Obviously enough, there is no mention at all of my long critiques of his theory published earlier; e.g., in Fr. Altheim und R. Stiehl, Christentum am roten Meer, Berlin, I (1971), pp. 110-121. Such a behavior has become - it is a well-known fact - the normal conduct of the members of the "laudemus invicem" club. To booster his position, J.Ryckmans expresses his view on the numerous Min texts which were originally published as Liḥ, and his genial verdict is that "5°/₀ seulement" of the names given by those Min inscriptions "se retrouvent dans le stock minéen du nord - pourcentage si faible, que l'hypothèse peut être considérée comme sans fondement" (p. 547). The information on the "5°/₀" was not checked because it is irrelevant.

a - The basic fact is that, wherever found, in northern Saudi Arabia, in Greece, or in Egypt, a SA text is identified as such on the basis of its palaeography and phrasaeology. The Min texts from al-ʿUlâ and vicinity are all the more at home that a large Min colony flourished for centuries in that city of northern Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the fundamental question is not at all where a SA text is found, and its palaeography has nothing to do with the so-called "chronologie de la pénétration sabéenne" in Arabia. Has there ever been a "pénétration sabéenne" in Egypt or in Greece?

b - J. Ryckmans does not seem to realize the contradiction and the vicious circle implied by his argumentation: he maintains the Liḥ character of those texts while admitting that their identification as Min is based on "la présence de signes cursifs attestés notamment en Arabie du Sud" (p. 546). Therefore, the basic criterium, viz. the palaeography of the texts, while accepted, is set aside because of a captious argumentation. Those Min texts were excluded from Min and ascribed to Liḥ as a consequence of the limited epigraphical knowdledge

- quite understandable at the time - of the publishers. And now, ignoring or unaware of the epigraphical progress of the past 60-70 years, J. Ryckmans still excludes those graffiti from Min basically because they were not ascribed to Min in the first place!!! That the names from that northern region are mostly new not only is in itself irrelevant to the question of the language they belong to - otherwise any new SA name would and should be automatically rejected from SA and ascribed by J. Ryckmans to his undefined and most vague concept of "'thamoudéen'," but it also exemplifies the author's vicious circle of which he does not even seem to be aware, viz. he aprioristically ascribes all those texts to Liḥ and, therefore, he excludes them from the Min group and, then, he triumphantly states that their names do not fit into the Min group!!!

c - A point which should be brought up here, is the author's qualification justifying his mengling with Tham and Liḥ. It is quite easy for anyone to talk and especially when he may safely rely on the blind complacency of the members of his club, viz. the "laudemus invicem" club. The only reliable test, however, is the author's publication of texts. It is a well-known fact that J. Ryckmans never published a single Liḥ text or even a short paper on Liḥ. It is another well-known fact that J. Ryckmans' only publication dealing with his NA is a paper entitled "Graffites 'thamoudéens' du Yémen septentrional" published more than twenty years ago (cf. Le Muséon, 72 [1959], pp. 177-189). I have already shown fifteen years ago (cf. my Research on Sabaean Rock Inscriptions from southwestern Saudi Arabia, Washington, 1966, p. 6) that J. Ryckmans' word "'thamoudéen'""indicates different kinds of pre-Islamic graffiti which do not belong to well-known groups, such as Liḥyanite, Nabataean, etc. This new appellation which does not explain anything, is most confusing, since '<Tham>' excludes 'Tham'. Further, the photographic documentation is very poor: five photographs are completely useless and the three others are so bad that no definitive decipherment and much less any accurate palaeographical study can be attempted. Finally, the facsimiles of the graffiti published on p. 186 can hardly be reliable for, according to their author (p. 181), their only value is to justify his own decipherment of the graffiti. A better documentation is needed to make the collection useful for research. However, from what can be seen on fig. 1, 3 and 4 of pl. I, there is absolutely no reason whatsoever to reject those graffiti from SA."

With such a background of knowledge, J. Ryckmans is hardly qualified to speak on the graffiti and rock inscriptions from the country of al-ʿUlâ. Let us take a simple example. Hu 590 was considered as Tham by all authors, including A. van den Branden (cf. Les inscriptions thamoudéennes, Louvain, 1950, p. 426), but W.

Caskel takes it to be "late Liḥ" while admitting that the name of the text is attested in northern Min (cf. Lihyan und Lihyanisch, Cologne, 1954, p. 31, and note 95, and p. 151B, respectively). On what ground did J. Ryckmans decide that the text is Liḥ instead of Tham? As a matter of fact, there is not a trace of Liḥ lettering in the name (cf. Ch. Huber, Journal de voyage en Arabia, Paris, 1891, p. 442, 3rd line), and the ascription of the text to Tham is explainable only by the author's limited knowledge of SA graffiti, which was quite admissible even in 1951.

The same pretention of dealing with NA although he, too, never published a single NA text, is shown by W.W. Müller all through his paper in Die Welt des Orients (Göttingen, 10 [1979], pp. 23-29). One example suffices here. W.W. Müller claims to find yt^{c} in JsaT 247 (p. 25). In fact, he simply copied E. Littmann's reading (cf. Thamūd und Ṣafā, Leipzig, 1940, p. 75) followed by A. van den Branden (cf. Les inscriptions ..., p. 375) contrary to F.V. Winnett's decipherment, št^{c} (cf. A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions, Toronto, 1937, p. 46, with an inaccurate reproduction of the facsimile on pl. VII), endorsed by G.L. Harding (cf. An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions, Toronto, 1971, p. 340A, with the note "Root unknown"). The reader would very much like to know on what ground does W.W. Müller base his claim of being qualified to choose between A. van den Branden and F.V. Winnett in Tham matter? The reading of the first letter of the name is yet another example of the confusion, already denounced before, on the Tham alphabet and especially the letter composed of a long vertical bar which, according to the author's whims, would have the value of y, l, n, r or š; all these possibilities make it extremely easy for each author to choose the reading he likes best. The initial name of JsaT 247 reads lt^{c} "Lata^{c};" cf., e.g., Saf Tap 31 (cf. JaMAR, VIII, p. 5). W. W. Müller's incompetence in NA coupled with the lack of basic honesty is also responsible for his endorsing A.K. Irvine's erroneous suggestion on some Saf so-called apocopate forms (p. 24) while voluntarily sweeping under the rug the refutation of that phantastic suggestion in JaCMYE, pp. 170-171. Finally, the reader notes that W.W. Müller eliminates one example given by A.K. Irvine, viz. "^{3}bḥ[y]." Why is this example scrapped? If this example is unacceptable, why should the others be acceptable? Of course, W.W. Müller remains silent.

W.W. Müller's venture into NA is all the more surprising in that, although he always gives the impression of being perfectly up-to-date, his statements on SA

are far from actually being what they appear to be; e.g., he claims on pp. 23-24 that "noch zwei weitere Belege in qatabānischen Texten," viz. TC 891/1 and Ja 2445. Firstly, a third one should be added, Ja 2465 (cf. JaMAR, III, p. 53).

Secondly, on TC 891/1, the author writes that "ʾbyt am Zeilenende sicherlich zu ʾbytᶜ zu ergänzen ist (s. R.L. Cleveland, An Ancient South Arabian Necropolis. Objects from the Second Campaign (1951) in Timnaᶜ Cemetery [Baltimore] 150 und Plate 98)." It should be strongly emphasized that R.L. Cleveland's reading is "]ʾbyt[" (p. 150 B). Here again, the author's lack of basic honesty is remarkable: the reader of his prose would never suspect that the reading of ʾbyt[ᶜ/... has already been published in my Notes on the Published Inscribed Objects Excavated at Heid bin ᶜAqîl in 1950-1951, Washington, 1965, p. 25.

(5) Cf. JaMAR, II, pp. 93-150.

(6) Cf. PSAS, 5 (1955), pp. 61-64: "First Evidence on a Form of the First Person in the Old South Arabian Inscriptions."

(7) Cf. JaCMYE, pp. 169-191; cf. also the closing note in JaMAR, VIII, p. 37.

(8) Cf. recently JaMAR, VIII, p. 31. (9) Cf., e.g., JaMAR, III, pp. 5-7.

(10) Cf. D. Stehle, in JAOS, 60 (1940), pp. 517-519.

(11) Cf. G. Garbini's photo in AION, 20 (1970), pl. 26b.

(12) Cf. W.W. Müller in NESE, 1 (1972), pp. 76-78 and photo on pl. 9, no. 27.

On p. 76, correct "XXVII a" to "XXVI a" in the reference to G. Garbini, and at the end of the transliteration, add a word divider.

(13) Cf. l.c., p. 78. (14) Cf. already my remarks in JaMAR, VII, p. 199.

(15) Cf. already JaMAR, X, especially pp. 40-41.

(16) Cf. Le Muséon, 86 (1973), p. 546; for the discussion of another part of his review, cf. above, note 4. As I repeatedly stated in the past, J. Ryckmans' thesis is that no lettering is SA unless it is practically engraved or written in monumental alphabet; it thus stands for reason that for him any cursive alphabet must be rejected from SA and ascribed to his "'Tham'." In his review, however, he comes up with a brilliant suggestion, viz. he recommends to ascribe "les textes cursifs d'Arabie centrale ... dans une catégorie vague et hybride de 'thamoudéen du sud'." This new appellation does not, in his opinion, affect or interfere with "la chronologie de l'influence sabéenne et de l'écriture monumentale en Arabie centrale."

a - Here again, no recognition at all of the Sab cursive alphabet; on the contrary, the whole argumentation presupposes and rests solely upon the exclu-

siveness of the monumental alphabet. This position still is in keeping with his uncle's and his own stand taken thirty years ago on many graffiti and inscriptions from southern Saudi Arabia, and maintained by him all through the years and which he, therefore, could hardly abandon without losing face badly. The same opinion was recently reaffirmed by W.W. Müller in NESE, 3 (1978), pp. 114-115, concerning many graffiti photographed by Fr. Kortler, as well as by Ch. Robin who thought of escaping from J. Ryckmans' impasse by using another terminology, viz. "qaḥtânite" instead of "'thamoudéen'" (cf. JaMAR, X, pp. 34-41).

b - It is a well-known fact that J. Ryckmans' word "'thamoudéen'" has never been defined with the exception that it excludes SA (cf. already above, note 4). And now, he reaffirms his position again by referring to "une catégorie vague et hybride 'thamoudéen du sud'." And, since he, himself, knows not what language or languages are involved, the addition of "du sud" to "'thamoudéen'" can hardly mean anything relevant to the basic problem.

c - It is also interesting to see J. Ryckmans deliberately using yet another vague and inaccurate expression, viz. "les textes cursifs d'Arabie centrale," which present the valuable advantage of preventing any scholar from knowing exactly what he means. On the one hand, does he consider al-Fa'w as being in "Arabien centrale"? He should - but nobody knows whether he does or not - because the site lies at about the 20th parallel; consequently, the Sab rock inscriptions of that ancient town with so many cursive forms should also be ascribed to his "'thamoudéen' du sud"!!! On the other hand, how could he consider Najrân and vicinity as belonging to "Arabie centrale"? He should not - but nobody knows whether he does or not - because even Bi'r Ḥimâ still is in the lower third of the Arabian peninsula. Consequently, who is to know which cursive texts J. Ryckmans is talking about? If such is the case, his new comment, although high sounding to the superficial reader and the non-specialist as well as seemingly inspired by a highly concentrated reflexion, nonetheless is in fact a waste of time and another gibberish of the author's prose.

(17) Cf. my Sabaean and Ḥasaean Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia, Rome, 1966.

(18) Cf. JaSIMB, p. 389A. (19) Cf. JaCMYE, pp. 17-18.

(20) Cf. Le Muséon, 89 (1976), p. 413.

(21) Cf. H. von Wissmann, Das Weirauchland Sa'kalān, Samārum und Mos-cha, Vienne, 1977, p. 54 and note 1.

(22) Cf. IX, pp. 85-87.

List of some abbreviations

Ḥaḍr = Ḥaḍrami. — JaCMYE = A. Jamme, Carnegie Museum 1974-75 Yemen Expedition, Pittsburgh, 1976. — JaMAR = A. Jamme, Miscellanées d'ancient arabe, Washington, I - X (1971, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1974, 1974, 1979, 1979, 1979). — JaSIMB = A. Jamme, Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqŝ (Mârib), Baltimore, 1962. — JsaT = Jaussen-Savignac, Thamudic. — Liḥ = Liḥyanite. — Min = Minaean. — NA = North-Arabian. — NESE = R. Degen - W.W. Müller - W. Röllig, Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik, Wiesbaden, I - III (1972, 1974, 1978). — PSAS = Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies (London), 1 - 9 (1971-1979). — Qat = Qatabanian. — SA = South-Arabian. — Sab = Sabaean. — Saf = Safaitic. — Tham = Thamudic.

Word list

South-Arabian

ʾbʾmr (pers.n.; form F4a) 2916 a/1,d/2; 2917 e/1-2; 2920 b/2; 2926 d/1; 2927 d; 2929 c/2.

ʾbhl (pers.n.; form B1a) 2927 a/2.

ʾbkrb (pers.n.; form F4a) 2918 h/1-2; 2929 a/1-2; 2935 a/1; 2942 c;2949 /2.

ʾbsmᶜ (pers.n.; form F4a) 2905 b/1-2; 2927 f.

ʾbᶜly (pers.n.; form F4a) 2922 j/1.

ʾh (pers.s.) 2904/1.

ʾlʾmr (pers.n.; form F4c) 2913 a/1.

ʾlḥyn (clan n.; form E1i) d": 2910 a/1-2

ʾlḥmr (pers.n.; form F4c) 2939/2-3.

ʾlm (s.)2918 e/3, f/3; 2925 b/3-4;2927 b/3; 2952/2; "hw: 2904/2.

ʾmrhmw (pers.n.; form E91d) 2922 a/1.

b (wrong start) 2916 b.

bʾṯ (pers.n.; form A1) 2910 b/1.

byn (form A1) (pers.n.) 2918 f/1.
(2nd pers.n.) 2918 e/3; 2952/2.

bn (pers.s.: grandson) 2918 f/2;2952/1.
son) 2904/1; 2905 a/1,b/1, c/1; 2906 a/2, b/1-2, d/1; 2907 a/1, b, c/1; 2908/1; 2909 a/3; 2910 b/1; 2911 a/2, b/1, c/1, d/2; 2912 a/1-2, b/1, c/1-2; 2913 a/1, b/1-2, d/1; 2914/2; 2915 a/2; 2916 a/1, d/1;2917 a/1, b/1, e/1; 2918 a, c/1, d, e/2,

g/2, i/1-2; 2919 a/2, b/2; 2920 a/1, b/1, c/1-2, d/1; 2921 a/1, c/1, f/1; 2922 b/1, e/2, f/1, h/1, i/1, j/1, k/1, l/1, o/1; 2923; 2924 a/2-3; 2925 a, b/1, c/1, d/1; 2926 a/1, b/2, c/2, d/1-2; 2927 a/2, b/1, c, d, e, g, h/1, i/1, l/1, m/1; 2928 c/2; 2929 a/2, b/2, c/1-2; 2930/1; 2931/1; 2932/1; 2933 a/1, b/1; 2934/2; 2935 a/1, b/2; 2936 a/1-2; 2938 a/1, b/1, c/1; 2939/2; 2941/1; 2942 b, c, d/1; 2943 a/1; 2944/1-2; 2945/1; 2946 a/1, b/2; 2947/2; 2948 a/1; b/1; 2952/1.

bn (pers.s.; group) 2905 a/2, c/2; 2907 a/2, c/2-3; 2908/2; 2909 b; 2912 a/3, c/2; 2913 d/2-3; 2914/3; 2916 a/2, d/2; 2917 a/2, b/2, e/2; 2918 a; 2921 f/2; 2922 a/2, b/2, c/2, e/3, g/1, h/2, i/1, k/2, m/2, n, o/2; 2923; 2925 d/2; 2926 a/3; 2927 l/2; 2929 c/3; 2933 a/3, b/2; 2937/2; 2938 a/2, b/3, c/2; 2940/2; 2942 d/1; 2943 a, b/2; 2946 b/3; 2947/3; 2948 b/2; 2950/1-2.

bny (v.) 2904/2.

bᶜt (wrong start) 2927 k.

bᶜttr (pers.n.; form F32m) 2905 a/1, c/1-2; 2927 j/1.

bqrm (clan n.; form D3f) 2907 d/2.

gddm (clan n.; form D3f) 2926 a/3; 2943 b/2; 2950/2.

gd (pers.n.; form A1) 2935 b/2.

gmhm (pers.n.; form E91c) 2922 f/2.

grby (gentil.) "n: 2927 b/1; 2928 a/1; 2942 a.

grbn (clan n.; form D3g) 2925 b/2; 2952/2: cf. also grby.

ddkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2920 b/1 and monogram; 2932/1; 2935 b/1.

dwʾl (pers.n.; form C3) 2918 b.

dwmn (pers.n.; form D3g) 2940/1-2.

d (rel. pron.) 2924 a/4; cf. also ʾlḥyn, hlfn, hms, ysrn, nḥsn, swtn, ġrn, qyntm, rbb, śrwm.

dmrʾmr (pers.n.; form E102a) 2934/2-3.

dmrhmw (pers.n.; form E91d) 2932 d/1-2; 2952/1.

dmrydᶜ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2907 a/1-2, c/1; 2914/2-3.

dmrkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2927 g; 2929 b/2-3; 2931/2.

hgr (s.) 2918 g/4; 2920 a/4; 2928 c/4-5; 2930/2; 2945/2; 2948 a/2.

-hw (pers. pron.) cf. ʾlm.

hwbs (div.; form B1d) 2913 a/2-3; 2939/3-4.

hytᶜʾl (pers.n.; form F36b) 2917 b/1-2; 2922 i/1; 2924 a/3; 2927 c; 2941/2; 2943 a.

hlkʾmr (pers.n.; form E102a) 2907 a/1; 2916 a/2; 2920 a/2-3; 2928 c/1; 2930/1; 2934/1; 2942 d/1.

hlkyfᶜ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2926 b/1-2, c/2; 2927 a/1.

hlksmᶜ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2919 b/3-4; 2926 b/2-3.

hlkᶜly (pers.n.; form E102a) 2912 b/2; 2913 b/1.

hlkqᶜ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2947/2.

ḥqb (pers.n.; form A1) 2909 a/4.

wkbm (clan n.; form D3f) 2912 a/4;2922 a/2, b/3, (e/3), o/2; 2933 a/3, b/3; 2942 d/2; 2948 b/3.

wklm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2927 b/1-2.

wᶜd (clan n.; form A1) 2921 d.

wtr (2nd pers.n.; form A1) 2918 f/3-4.

ḥbṣmᶜ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2921 b.

ḥdm (pers.n.; form A1) 2902.

ḥywm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2922 o/1;2948 b/2.

ḥymwm (pers.n.; form E84h) 2922 l/1-2.

ḥmᶜtt (pers.n.; form F1aj) 2942 b.

ḥmrwḥ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2921 d.

ḥn (clan n.; form A1) 2948 c.

ḥnbl (pers.n.; form A1) 2903 b.

ḥnn (pers.n.; form A1) 2903 a.

ḥqqn (clan n.; form D3g) 2922 l/2.

ḥrt (pers.n.; form A1) 2901 b.

ḥ (wasm) 2924 b.

hlkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2911 b/1, c/2; 2927 e, g.

hll (clan n.; form A1) cf. hlly.

hlly (gentil.) "n: 2918 e/1, f/1.

hlfn (clan n.; form D3g) 2918 h/2-3; d": 2911 a/4; 2915 a/3-4; 2920 b/2-3, d/2; 2921 a/2, e; 2926 d/3; 2941/3.

hms (5) (2918 g/3-4); 2920 a/3-4; 2928 c/4; 2930/2; d": 2945/2; 2948 a/2.

tfln (clan n.; form D3g) 2905 b/2; 2907 a/2; 2909 b; 2911 d/2; 2914/4;2919 b/4-5; 2922 c/2, g/2, m/2, n; 2937 /2; 2943 a; 2947/3.

ẓf (s.) 2918 e/3; 2925 b/3; dual: "y: 2918 f/2-3; 2927 b/3; 2928 a/2;2952 /2; pl.: "t: 2931/3; 2949/4.

ydmrmlk (pers.n.; form E45i) 2911 b/2; 2918 c/2; 2927 e; 2931/1; ydmr/mlk: 2932/1-2.

yhqm (form E41a) (pers.n.) 2918 e/1.
(2nd pers.n.) 2918 f/1

ywm (conj.) 2927 b/2.

ylb (pers.n.; form B1e) 2916 c.

ymlḫʾl (pers.n.; form F38a) 2942 a.

ysrn (clan n.; form D3g) d": 2906 b/3; 2934/3; 2935 a/2-3; 2936 a/3;2949 /3.

]yfᶜ (pers.n.) 2939/1.

yfᶜm (form D3f) (pers.n.) 2927 l/2.
(clan n.) 2936 b.

yqdmʾl (pers.n.; form F38a) 2908/1-2; 2912 c/1; 2926 a/2; 2943 b/1-2.

yqḫʾl (clan n.; form F38a) 2913 d/2-3.

ytᶜ (pers.n.; form A1) 2917 c.

ytᶜʾl (pers.n.; form F1c) 2912 c/2.

ytᶜʾmr (pers.n.; form E102a) 2918 e/3; 2925 b/4.

ytᶜkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2915 a/2-3; 2922 k/1; 2926 d/2-3.

ytᶜm (form D3f) (pers.n.) 2913 d/2; 2917 a/2; 2927 h/1.
(family n.) 2927 l/2.

kbḫ (pers.n.; form A1) 2948 c.

kbr (pers.s.) 2918 g/3; 2920 a/3; 2925 b/2; 2928 c/3; 2930/1-2; 2952/1.

kr (clan n.; form A1) 2917 c.

krbʾl (pers.n.; form F1c) 2904/1; 2918 f/3; 2952/2.

l. (pers.n.) 2923.
lḥy (pers.n.; form A1) 2936 b.
lḥyww (pers.n.; form E88d) 2928 a/1.
lmmn (clan n.; form D3g) 2925 d/2.
mhqmm (pers.n.; form E56b) 2918 a, e/2, f/2; 2921 c/2; 2938 a/2; 2945/1-2.
mwd (pers.s.) 2927 j/1.
myfᶜ (pers.n.; form B1g) 2917 a/1.
myfᶜm (pers.n.; form E66n) 2922 h/1-2, i/1.
mlkᵓmr (pers.n.; form E102a) 2922 b/2.
mlksmᶜ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2925 a;2944/2-3.
mlkšhr (pers.n.; form E102a) 2920 c/2; 2928 b/1.
mllᵓt (pers.n.; form E116h) 2901 a.
msᵓ (pers.n.; form A1) 2917 d.
mᶜdkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2906 d/1; 2911 a/2-3; 2918 d; 2920 d/1;2922 g/1; 2927 l/1; 2930/1.
msnᶜm (clan n.; form E66n) 2927 c/3;2917 b/2; 2922 h/2, i/2, k/2-3.
mrwn (pers.n.; form D3g) 2925 b/1-2;2952/1.
mtn (pers.n.; form A1) 2910 b/2.
nbtᵓl (pers.n.; form F1c) 2916 d/1; 2917 b/1; 2919 b/1-2; 2920 d/2; 2921 a/2; 2922 e/1; 2926 c/1-2; 2942 d/1.
nbtyfᶜ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2920 c/1; 2936 a/1.
nbtkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2927 i/2.
nbtsmᶜ (pers.n.; form E102a) 2927 h/1-2.
nzzm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2918 i/1.
nḥsn (clan n.; form D3g) d": 2927 m/2.
nql (v.) 2918 e/2, f/2; 2925 b/3;2952/2.
nšᵓkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2929 b/1.
sbᶜ (pers.n.; form A1) 2918 i/2.
swtn (clan n.; form B1i) d": 2906 a/3, d/2; 2925 c/2-3; 2942 c.
sl (pers.n.; form A1) 2913 c.
smhᵓmr (pers.n.; form F64a) 2911 c/1; 2915 b/1; 2919 a/2-3; 2922 j/1; 2927 m/1; 2942 c.
smhyfᶜ (pers.n.; form F64a) 2918 c/1; 2921 a/1.
smhkb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2950/1.
smhkrb (pers.n.; form F64a) 2906 a/2; 2911 a/1; 2918 d; 2921 e, f/1.
smhᶜly (pers.n.; form F64a) 2904/1; 2927 b/2; 2928 a/2-3.
smhrym (pers.n.; form F64a) 2904/1 and monogram; 2927 b/3-4, j/2.
smkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2918 d.
ᶜbd (v.) 2927 b/2.
ᶜzzm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2922 f/1.
ᶜkdn (pers.n.; form D3g) 2922 n.
]ᶜkrb (pers.n.) 2937/1-2.
ᶜlḥmw (pers.n.; form E91d) 2909 a/1-2.
ᶜlkm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2951.
ᶜmᵓmyr (pers.n.; form F19m) 2946 b/1.
ᶜmᵓmr (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2908/1;2910 a/1; 2911 d/1; 2912 b/1; 2915 a/1; 2935 a/2; 2938 a/1, c/2; 2944/1; 2946 a/1; 2952/1.
ᶜmᵓns (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2905 c/1.
ᶜmdhr (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2926 a/1.
ᶜmwtr (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2925 b/1.
ᶜmytᶜ (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2905 a/1-2; 2906 b/1, c, d/1; 2907 b; 2913 a/1-2; 2914/1; 2917 e/1; 2919 a/

1; 2921 f/2; 2922 c/1, h/1, k/1-2; 2924 a/1-2; 2925 a, c/1, d/1; 2938 b/1; 2941/1; 2946 b/2.

ᶜmkyrb (pers.n.; form F17k) 2949/1.

ᶜmkrb (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2905 b/1; 2906 a/1; 2907 b; 2912 a/1; 2922 m/1; 2925 c/2; 2927 d, i/1; 2933 b/1; 2936 a/2; 2938 c/1; 2948 a/1.

ᶜmm (pers.n.; form A1) 2922 o/1.

ᶜmᶜhr (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2909 b;2918 g/2-3; 2920 a/1 and monogram; 2922 b/1, e/2.

ᶜmᶜly (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2911 d/2; 2918 g/1; 2928 c/2-3; 2948 a/1, b/1.

ᶜmrm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2927 c.

ᶜmšfq (pers.n.; form F4aa) 2925 d/1-2; 2943 b/1.

ᶜrᵓmr (pers.n.; form E102a) 2913 b/2.

ᶜtkln (clan n.; form D3g) 2940/2-3.

ġddm (clan n.; form D3f) 2912 c/3.

ġrn (clan n.; form D3g) d": 2911 b/3, c/2; 2918 c/2; 2919 a/3; 2922 j/2; 2927 e, g; 2929 b/3; 2931/2; 2932/2; 2935 b/3; 2944/3-4.

fht (2nd clan n.; form D3i) 2950/3.

fḥmtn (2nd pers.n.; form F110g) 2917 e/2.

ṣbḥm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2907 d/1;2927 b/1; 2946 a/2.

ṣf (s.) pl. "t: 2937/3.

ḍfr (pers.n.; form A1) 2942 b.

qwmm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2918 a.

qyntm (clan n.; form E110f) d": 2915 b/2; 2946 a/2-3.

qyf (s.) 2904/2.

rbb (clan n.; form A1) d": 2928 b/2.

rbbhmw (pers.n.; form E91d) 2933 a/2.

rbḥm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2912 a/2-3; 2933 a/1, b/2.

rkwm (clan n.; form D3f) 2905 a/2, c/2-3; 2921 c/2-3; 2938 b/3.

rfd (clan n.; form A1) 2916 a/3, d/3; 2917 e/2; 2918 a; 2923; 2927 h/2; 2929 c/3; 2938 a/3, c/2.

rfy (clan n.; form A1) 2917 a/2.

ršw (pers.s.) 2913 a/2; 2939/3.

ršwn (pers.n.; form D3g) 2927 m/1-2; 2929 a/2-3.

rtdᵓl (clan n.; form F1c) 2908/2-3.

šytm (pers.n.; form D3f) 2922 l/1.

ślᶜ (v.) 2920 b/3; 2927 b/2; 2928 a/2; 2931/3; 2937/3; 2949/4.

śrwm (clan n.; form D3f) d": 2929 a/3.

tᵓrm (clan n.; form D3f) 2946 b/3.

tᵓrn (clan n.; form D3g) 2921 f/3.

tbᶜkrb (pers.n.; form E102a) 2906 b/2; 2907 c/2; 2913 d/1; 2921 c/1; 2923; 2929 c/1; 2938 b/2; 2945/1; 2947/1.

Tham

ltᶜ (pers.n.; form A1) JsaT 247.

Sumhurâm

by

Dr. F. P. Albright

Sumhurâm was not just an eastern outpost of the Ḥaḍramī kingdom, it was also important in its own right. Built, probably, early in the first century A.D., it sat as a guardian fort on what was one of the best natural harbors on the coast of South Arabia. Nearly 50 km east of Salâlah, in Ẓofâr, Oman, it was on the sea route between East and West, between India and the Mediterranean nations, and thus a way station for ships; and a station as well for overland caravan routes.

I - The harbor. - The harbor was the mouth of the wâdî forming the inlet now known as Khor Rori. It stretched more than a quarter mile inland and was protected from storms by two very large flattop rocks, one on either side of the harbor entrance (see photo A on pl. 10). The rocks, more than 20 m in height, are an estimated more than 300 m apart, forming an adequate entrance to the harbor for traffic and for any size ships of those days. The harbor's depth, however, is still a question inasmuch as it has not been investigated. A sand bar has developed across its mouth, indicating a limited depth.

II - Sumhurâm. - Sitting on a rock elevation directly opposite the harbor mouth, the city is in shape roughly an isosceles trapezoid with bulging sides, long axis east-southeast and west-northwest in direction. It measures approximately 130 m in length and 70 m in width. At each end of the north city wall a room projects northward. They are integrated with the city wall, but themselves have rather thin walls, varying from .60 m to 1.10 m. Nothing was found in them to indicate their use.

The entrance gate and the temple are on the northern side midway between the ends, the temple inside the city wall but the gate mostly on the outside.

A - The city wall has a peculiar serrated outline (see photo B on pl.

10). In its outer circumference there are more than 30 setbacks of from approximately half a metter to several meters placed at quite irregular distance apart. Most of the setback faces are in a clockwise direction around the wall, but there is some irregularity, apparently determined by the topography of the location. The purpose of the serrated outline is to give the wall greater stability, the setbacks acting as buttresses. With a few exceptions the inner face of the wall follows the features of the outside.

The thickness is on the average approximately 2.50 m, the thickest being 3.70 m. Its height, we may assume, was nowhere lower than a one story building. The wall, which usually has a slight batter on both faces, is constructed with stone casing and rubble fill held together with mud mortar. We have no way of knowing the wall's crown since none of it is preserved.

B - The inner city. - The dwellings, shops, factories, and storage houses are erected against the city wall and against each other with apparently little or no city plan, leaving, instead of streets, only alleys and passages winding between buildings. There was difference in the quality of dwellings. For instance those in the northeast quarter are quite substantial, and provided with stairs indicating two or three stories, while those in the southwest with smaller rooms and less substantial foundations indicate a poorer class residents. An inscription on a stone of the gateway (Jamme, Miscellanées, IX, p. 88, Khor Rori 3/6-7) indicates a large number of inhabitants "from the submissive class to the lowest class."

Apparently, at least in the better houses, the main story was the second floor; and, one might surmise, had windows above the city wall. In the extreme southeast corner was the mint, for here we found many coins struck with designs and 1259 blanks as well as small chunks and objects of bronze including a bronze weight and much-corroded iron objects which may have been iron molds. Next to the mint was a series of long rooms, quite obviously storage bins. Midway between the mint rooms and the northeast corner of the city, 7 m from the city wall, is an unusually sturdy rectangular structure 3.40 m by 4.30 m north-south, which was probably a watch tower. From a three story height one had a view of the harbor and the sea east and west as far as atmospheric conditions permit; and one had an equally good view landwards as far as the top of the mountains. This would provide an early warning of the approach of an enemy either by land or by sea.

That the rulers of Sumhurâm were aware of possible enemies is indicated not only by the city walls but also, and especially, by the plan of the city gate. To penetrate this gate the enemy would encounter a passageway with four angles and three gates before emerging inside the city.

C - The gate complex. - At a distance of 18 m north of the city wall and parallel to it is a stone wall 15.05 m in length and 2.30 m thick. Walls extending from the city wall toward each end of this outer wall terminate 2.40 m from it, thus forming an eastwest corridor 2.40 m wide. Contiguous to the west side of the western wall is a rather massive structure which may have been a tower. And west of the eastern wall is another building 6.20 m by 8.80 m, leaving to the west a passage southward 5.30 m in width with a cobble pavement of approximately 20 degrees upgrade. From the southwest corner of this eastern edifice, or room, a short massive wall narrows the outer gate at the point to 2.10 m. In both walls .20 m setbacks show rubbing of the gate pivots, probably wood with possibly bronze bands. In both places the pavement stones which would have held the bronze pivot boxes have been pulled out. At a height of 1.50 m and some .10 m from the jamb seat are holes for the bar which may have been approximately .15 m square. The gate was a two-leaf, or bivalve, door opening inward toward the city. Within the gate the pavement is nearly level southward to the city wall, a distance of 5.80 m, and eastward to the end of a cross corridor, which is 11.30 m in length.

Near the eastern end of the cross corridor a 2.10 m wide passage ascends southward for 3 m to the central gate. The passage was originally paved with small cobble stones, but later, though still early in the city's history, it was overpaved with large stones forming a stairs. The passage then widens .20 m on each side forming the jambs for the second gate. Bar holes .12 m square and not much deeper are .13 m to .15 m from the jamb seat and 1.50 m above the pavement. The paving stone which contained the pivot box on the west side is missing, but on the east side there is a smooth stone which never had a pivot box, indicating a single-leaf door. The reason for it is obvious. In the east wall at a distance of 1.10 m south of the jamb seat is a narrow massageway leading through the wall to the outside. A double-leaf door, when open, would partly have obstructed the passage entrance, but a single-leaf gate swung from the west would leave it entirely free.

The passageway, .50 m to .65 m and 2.00 m high, penetrates the east wall for 1.90

m, then turns left (north) for 2.20 m and again to the right (east) for 1.80 m, emerging outside in a corner of the city wall. Here had been a door .65 m wide and 1.50 m high opening inward with the pivot at the south side. The sill stone is missing but the lintel stone contains the pivot hole. There are bolt holes on both sides about halfway up. The plastered walls of the passage show much wear from people brushing against them. The ceiling seems to be a somewhat flat keystone vault of stones cemented with clay. Presumably a stairway led down the steep slope to a lower level on the outside.

The cobblestone paved passage within the central gate ascends gradually for a distance of 6.00 m and turns right (east) with a 2.00 m wide passage to the inner gate, which is less than half a meter higher than the central gate. The inner gate is a two-leaf door of slightly lighter construction than the other two gates. At the north side we found a bronze pivot socket in place leaded into the stone. The space immediately west of the inner gate seems to have been mostly open in the city's earliest days.

D - The temple. - At a distance of 12.00 m west of the inner gate is a large structure which proved to be the temple. Its interior measures approximately 11.50 m square with the north wall being the city wall. The south wall is 5.30 m thick in the center and 6.30 m at the projecting ends. The east wall, 3.50 m thick at the preserved height (walls are virtually vertical), butted against the city wall, but the west wall is integrated with the city wall, evidence that the temple was built at the same time as the city wall. The west wall, 5.10 m thick, contained a recess, or alcove, 7.90 m in length and 2.70 m in depth, leaving the wall at that area 2.40 m to 2.50 m in thickness. This recess is bisected by a .50 m thick wall of rather large stones and the two compartments thus created are filled in by outer walls less than .50 m thick, which were left rough on the inner faces, and a fill of small stones, chips and earth. Construction of the two compartments is not entirely similar, the northern having more loose earth and shale slabs. It may have been filled later than the southern one. Presumably the alcoves were left open in the early days and filled later to provide more room on the top of the wall. But were they roofed over originally?

The entrance to the temple is a narrow zigzag passageway through the wall at the southeast corner, similar to the passageway through the wall in the

gateway. The passage, .60 m to .80 m in width and 1.80 m to 2.00 m in height, has a door jamb set near its entrance, indicating a door that opened inwards, leaving the doorway a little more than .50 m wide. At a distance of 1.45 m the passage turns left (south) for 1.30 m, then right (west) into the temple. To the north of the entrance, starting 1.30 m from the south wall, a flight of stairs ascended to the north. Three steps remain. Presumably it landed at the top of the massive wall. The step stones are 1.55 m in length, .34 cm in width, and .22 in height. The grade was probably about 40 degrees. Two stairs in houses have a grade of 40 degrees. One of the stairs of 11 steps with .18 m rise and .20 m to .25 m tread (average .22 m tread) has a height of 1.98 m in 2.40 m distance, a grade of 40 degrees. The temple stairs rests on a base 1.90 m wide which sits on bed rock. The temple's earth floor is a fill of approximately 3.00 m to the level of the stair base and the entrance passage.

Almost in the center of the temple (see photo on pl. 11) is a well, perfectly plumb and nicely curbed with rectangular limestone blocks. It measures at the top 1.10 m east-west and 1.25 m north-south and is 25.60 m deep, terminating just a few meters above sea level. Though wet at the bottom, there was no water standing, the water table having lowered. The well had been fed by water seeping through the porous limestone from the mountain. At the edge of the lake is still a spring thus fed.

Half a meter west of the well is a stone tank 1.45 m in length (inside measurement), .55 m in width, and .40 m deep with a hole about halfway up on the east end and one at the bottom of the west end. A stone and cement platform slopes from the well to the east hole in the tank. From the west end of the tank a drain or trough conduit .80 m wide (inside measurement) leads the water through a hole in the west wall of the temple, then turns north through the city wall where its further course is lost.

Along the south wall from near the stairway to the southwest corner and along the west wall to near the water course is a stone bench nearly .50 m wide and .40 cm high. At a distance of .70 m in front of the bench is a low wall, or step, nearly the height of the bench, from which the earth floor slopes gently up to the well.

Somewhat more than a meter south of the tank is an altar, stone top .50 m by .90 m, set on clay and rubble base. Its height is nearly level with the

top of the tank. Approximately 1.00 m east of the well is a smaller altar, set at a lower level. The tops of the altars, especially the large one, show signs of fire and of abundant use of water, as of scrubbing the altars after the sacrifice or, possibly, of quenching the burnt offerings with water.

Nearly a meter depth of densely packed earth around the well and altars reveales the substance of the sacrifices. It was small game, sheep and goats, chickens or other fowl in abundance, and fish. Many bones were not thoroughly burnt. Even some twigs and bits of charred wood and seed pods remained. Bedouin had used the shelter of the great walls to cook meals after the edifice ceased to be used as a temple, but their fires are quite easily distinguished from the sacrifices. The later era is found in less dense fill above the packed level at the base of the altars. Apparently at least some of the remains of sacrifices were brushed from the altars and troden under foot so that because of the accretion of the altars, the tank, and the well head had to be raised. The two top courses of stone on the well are an addition to the original well top.

The abundance of water also suggests a rite of ablution, and with the bench especially a rite of pedilavium or some some sort of ablution. However, the bench would also have served the worshippers who sat eating a sacred meal of the sacrifice.

A massive wall 4.00 m wide filled the north end of the temple to within about a meter of the well and eastward to the stairs. It seems to have been built not all at one time. In any event it was built in sections. A well-built L shaped section in the northwest corner extended 4 m north-south and about 3 m east-west with an arm 1.20 m wide along the north city wall extending to 1.85 m of the stair base, 3.75 m of the east temple wall. Then in rougher work, the remainder was filled out to the 4 m level as far as the stairs with a stone retaining wall and stone and earth fill. The height was, presumably, to the level of the rest of the temple wall. If this was to the height of the city wall, the level platform on the north side was about 7 m wide. The total height of the walls, and whether they were edged with parapets, is unknown since the top of the walls is missing.

The temple was named ʾIlum and dedicated to the moon god Sîn, as inscriptions revealed. Since the deities worshipped here were represented by the heavenly bodies, one might surmise that some ritual took place on the platform-wall of the temple.

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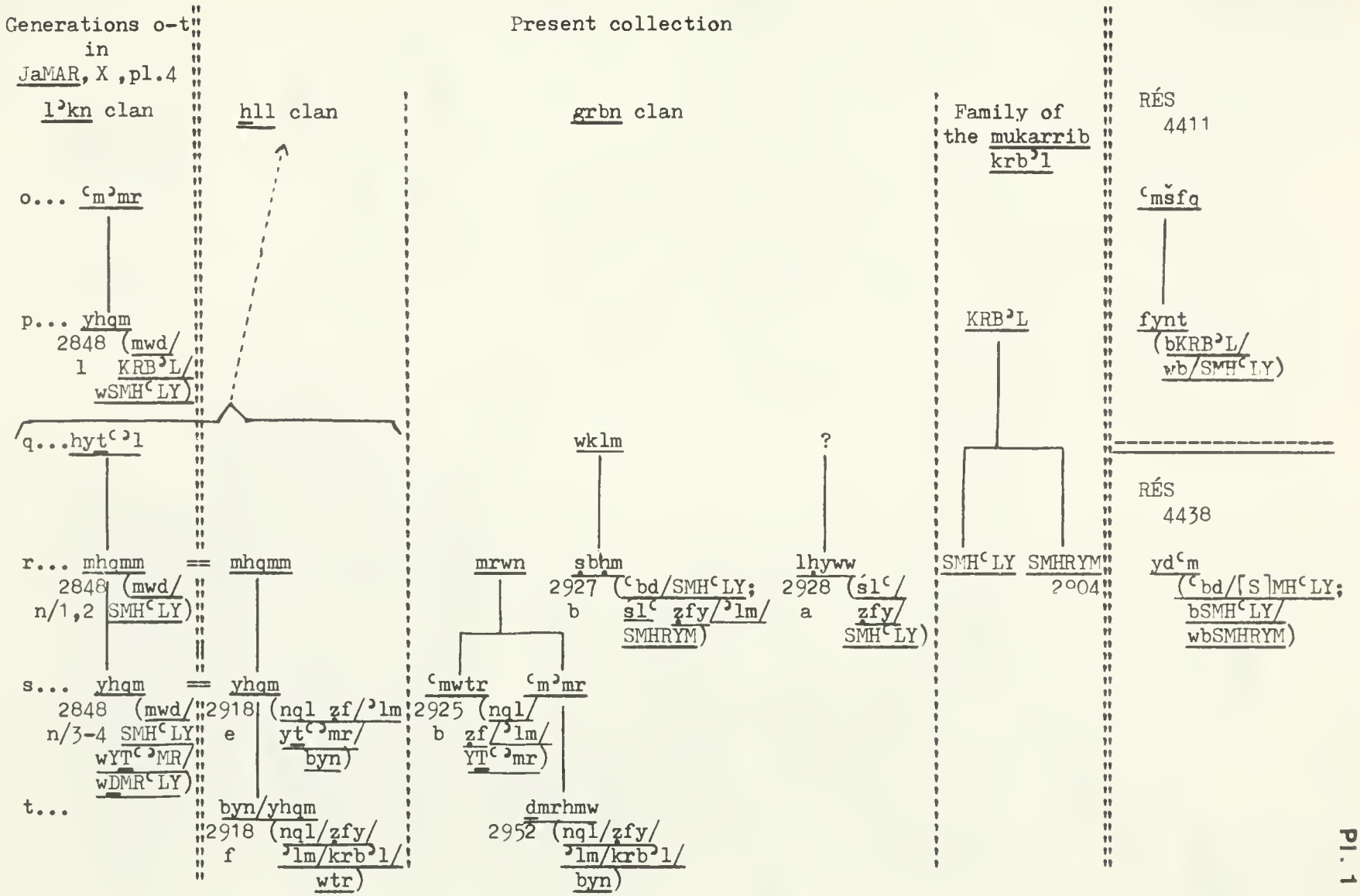
Generations o-t in JaMAR, X, pl.4
Present collection
l'kn clan
hll clan
grbn clan
Family of the mukarrib krb'l
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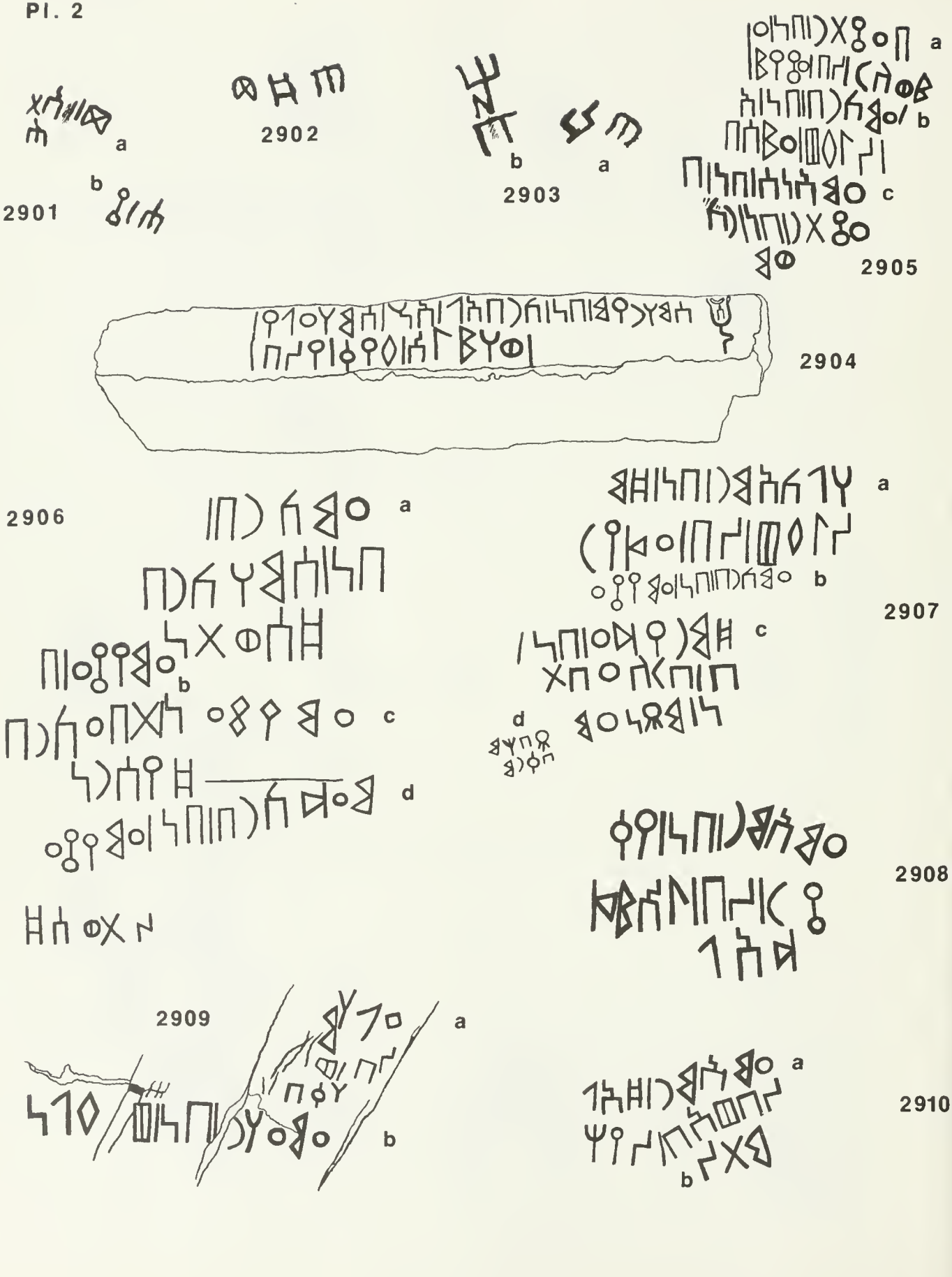
o... c m' mr
c mšfq
p... yhqm 2848 1 (mwd/ KRB'L/ wSMH'LY)
fynt (bKRB'L/ wb/SMH'LY)
KRB'L
q... hyt' 'l
wklm
?
RÉS 4438
r... mhqmm 2848 n/1,2 (mwd/ SMH'LY)
==
mhqmm
mrwn
sbhm 2927 b ('bd/SMH'LY; sl' zfy/'lm/ SMHRYM)
lhyww 2928 a (śl'/ zfy/ SMH'LY)
SMH'LY
SMHRYM 2004
yd'm ('bd/[S]MH'LY; bSMH'LY/ wbSMHRYM)
s... yhqm 2848 n/3-4 (mwd/ SMH'LY wYT' 'MR/ wDMR'LY)
==
yhqm 2918 e (nql zf/'lm yt' 'mr/ byn)
c mwtr 2925 b (nql/ zf/'lm/ YT' 'mr)
c m' mr
t...
byn/yhqm 2918 f (nql/zfy/ 'lm/krb'l/ wtr)
dmrhmw 2952 (nql/zfy/ 'lm/krb'l/ byn)

Pl. 1

Pl. 2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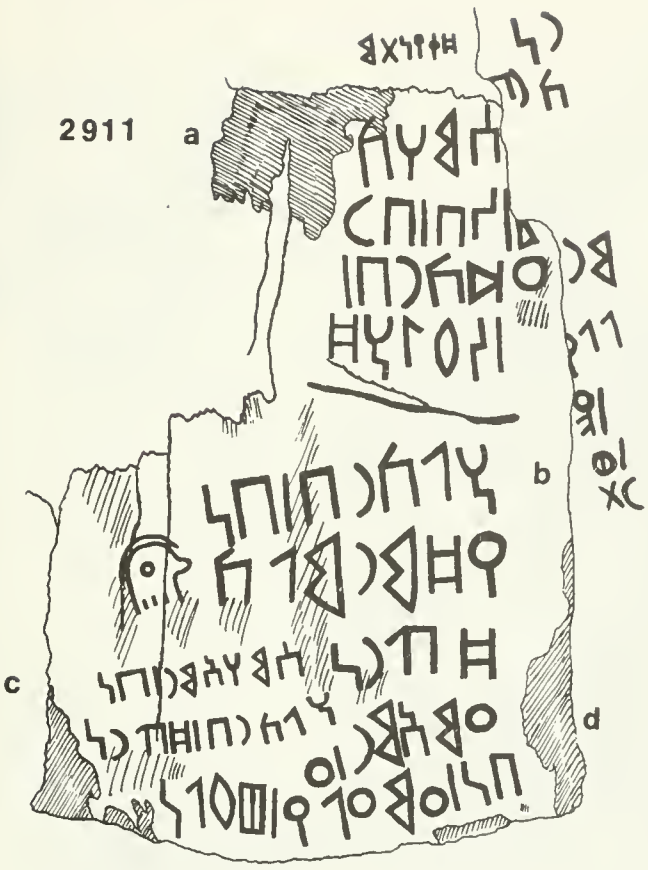

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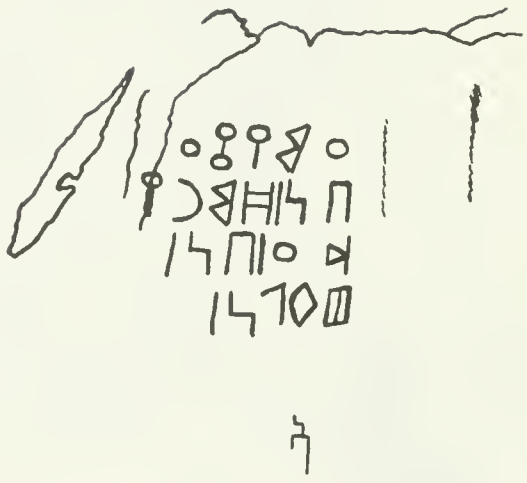

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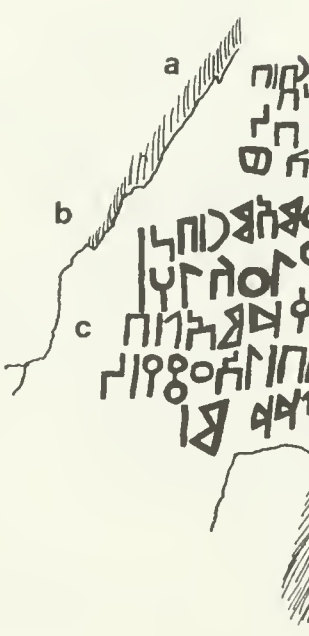

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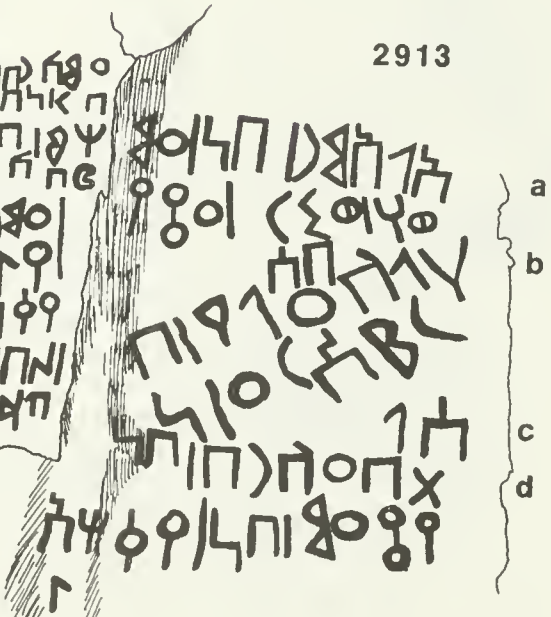

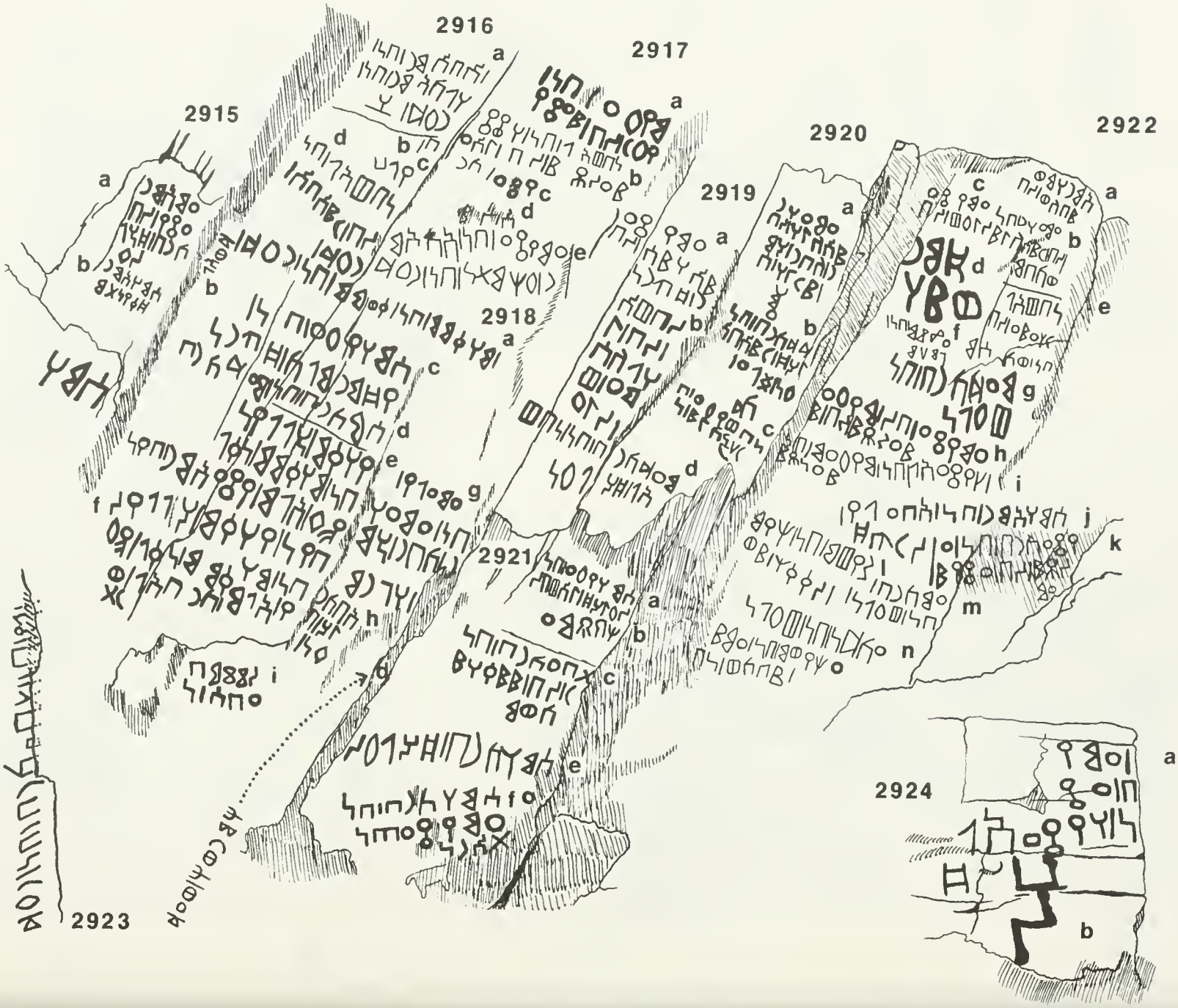

Pl. 4

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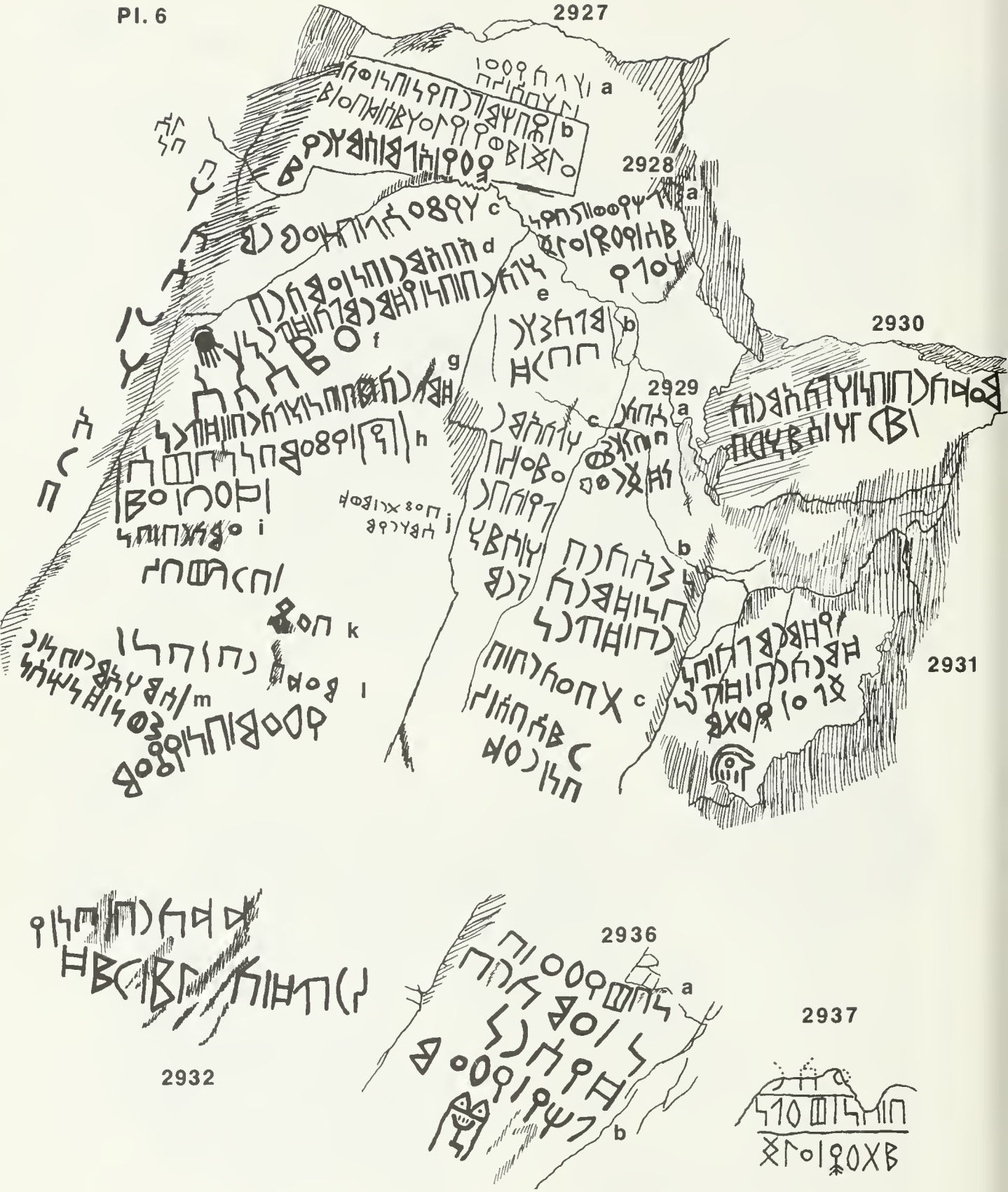
PI. 6



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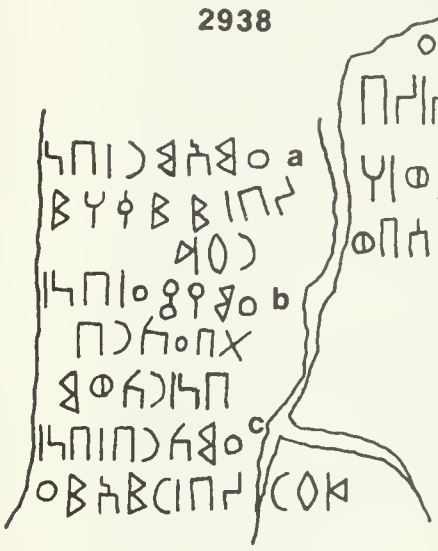

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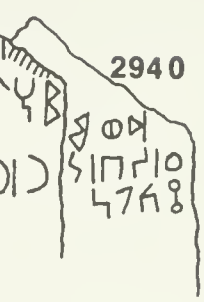

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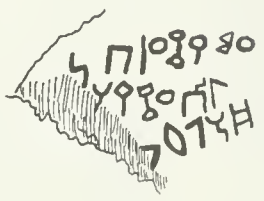

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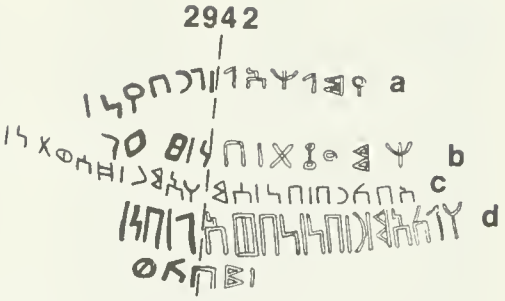

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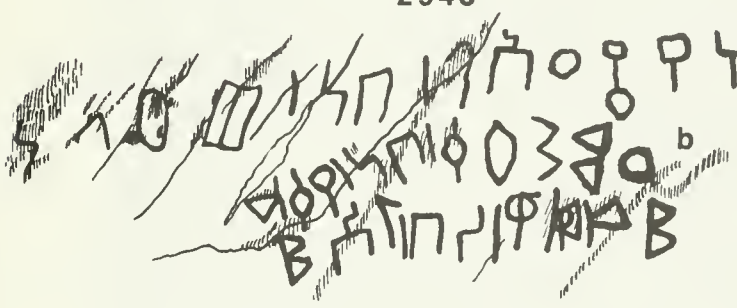

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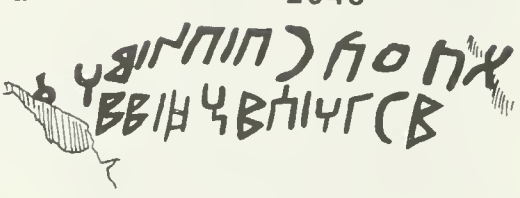

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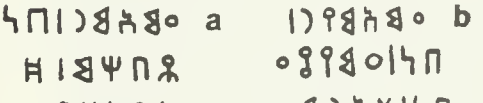

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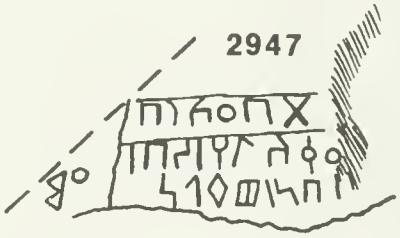

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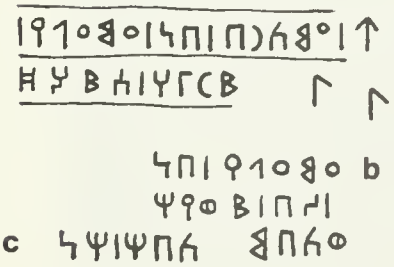

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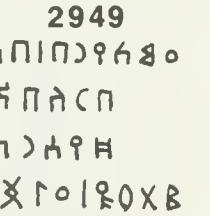

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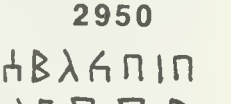

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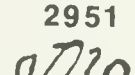

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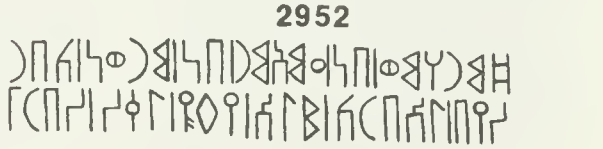
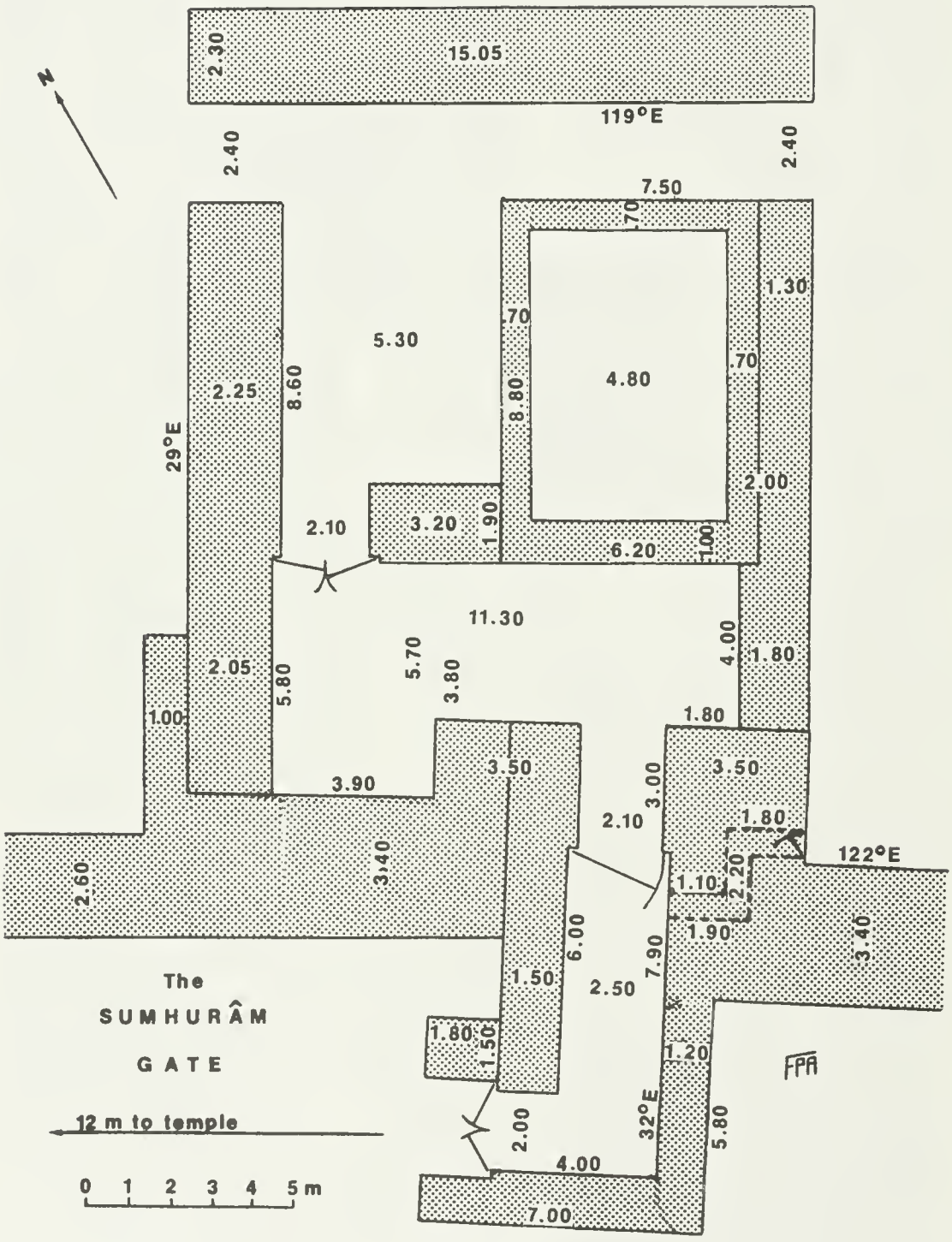


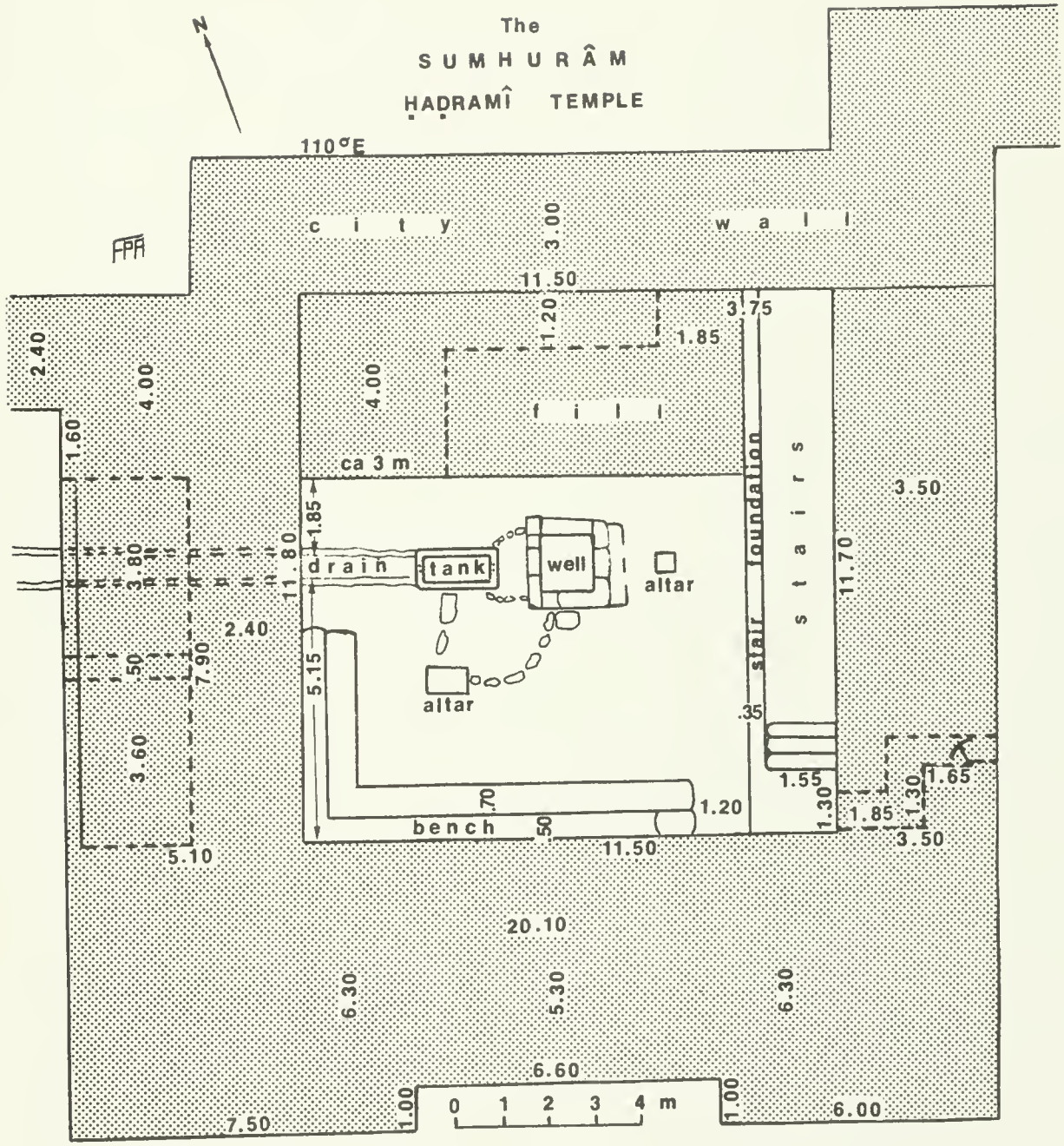
Tell of Sumhurâm

Aerial View of Sumhurâm

Center of the Sumhurâm Temple

Pl. 10


N
2.30
15.05
119°E
2.40
2.40
7.50
.70
1.30
.70
5.30
.70
4.80
2.25
8.60
8.80
.70
29°E
2.00
2.10
3.20
1.90
6.20
1.00
11.30
4.00
1.80
2.05
5.80
5.70
3.80
1.00
1.80
3.50
3.90
3.50
3.00
2.10
1.80
122°E
2.60
3,40
1.10
2.20
1.90
3.40
6.00
7.90
1.50
2.50
The
SUMHURÂM
GATE
1.80
1.50
1.20
FPA
32°E
2.00
5.80
4.00
12 m to temple
7.00
0 1 2 3 4 5 m


The
SUMHURÂM
HADRAMÎ TEMPLE
N
110°E
city
wall
3.00
11.50
3.75
11.20
1.85
4.00
fill
ca 3 m
2.40
4.00
1.60
3.80
11.80
1.85
drain
tank
well
altar
altar
stair foundation
stairs
3.50
11.70
2.40
.50
7.90
3.60
5.10
5.15
.35
1.55
1.65
1.30
1.30
1.85
3.50
.70
1.20
bench
.50
11.50
20.10
6.30
5.30
6.30
6.60
1.00
1.00
7.50
6.00
0 1 2 3 4 m

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